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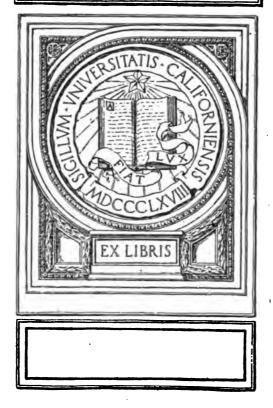
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## GIFT OF HORACE W. CARPENTIER





Thisker. Non Ben. English.

# THE NIGHANTU

AND

# THE NIRUKTA

THE OLDEST INDIAN TREATISE

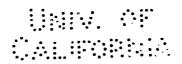
ON ETYMOLOGY, PHILOLOGY, AND SEMANTICS

CRITICALLY EDITED FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME INTO ENGLISH, WITH INTRODUCTION, EXEGETICAL AND CRITICAL NOTES, THREE INDEXES AND EIGHT APPENDICES

BY

LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A. (PANJ.) D. PHIL. (OXON.)

#### INTRODUCTION



HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY
1920

PK3/30,

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
BY FREDERICK HALL
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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# D

#### PREFACE

WHEN I first came to Oxford in the autumn of 1916, I undertook, on the suggestion of Professor A. A. Macdonell, to collate the hitherto unutilized Nirukta Manuscripts, contained in the Max Müller Memorial and the Chandra Shum Shere Collections, and to see if some new light could be thrown on the text of the Nirukta. A careful examination of the materials at my disposal has led me to the conclusion that the text of the Nirukta has been gradually expanded by the addition of short passages, chiefly in the etymological explanations which easily lent themselves to such interpolations. At present the history of this gradual expansion can be traced only down to the thirteenth century A.D. There is a lack of reliable evidence going further. But I have reasons to suspect that even up to the thirteenth century, the text of the Nirukta has not been handed down with a uniform and unbroken tradition. A few remarks of Durga scattered here and there in his commentary open up the possibility that the interpolators were already busy with their nefarious work. is no doubt that the text had already been tampered with. Thus one should be cautious in making Yaska responsible for many passages, and the numerous absurd derivations contained therein, now commonly attributed to him. All such passages have been pointed out in my edition of the text, which sets forth as clearly as possible the history of the gradual expansion by means of square brackets and foot-notes.

I have also produced, for the first time, a complete English translation of the whole of the Nirukta. I have added numerous exegetical and critical notes with a view to extract as much information as possible from Yāska. And in order to make my work further useful, I have also prepared the following Indexes and Appendices: (1) An Index to the words of the Nighantu with meanings; (2) An Index to the words of the Quoted Passages occurring in the Nirukta with meanings; (3) an Index

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Verborum to the Nirukta minus the Quoted Passages with meanings; (4) An alphabetical list of the Quotations occurring in the Nirukta; (5) An alphabetical list of the Untraced Quotations occurring in the Nirukta; (6) A list of Vedic Quotations arranged in the order of the Samhitās; (7) A list of the Authorities mentioned by Yāska; (8) A list of Stories related by Yaska; (9) The Relation of the Nirukta to other texts, i.e. a collection of parallel passages from the Brāhmanas, Prātisākhyas, Mahābhāṣya, &c.; (10) An alphabetical list of the etymologies to be found in the Nirukta; (11) A list of the Nirukta passages quoted by Sāyana. The whole work being embodied in the form of a dissertation was presented to, and accepted by, the University of Oxford, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Notwithstanding the Statt. Tit. VI, Sec. v, § 5. (8), which requires an Advanced Student to publish his thesis in extenso before supplicating for the said degree, the Committee for Advanced Studies very kindly permitted me—taking into consideration the very high cost of printing at present—to publish the Introduction alone. I think I need make no apology for bringing out this part only at present, in the hope that the rest will follow in course of time.

If my labours have borne any fruit, it is simply due to the guidance which I have received in the course of my work, and which it is my very pleasant duty to acknowledge.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor A. A. Macdonell. The inception of this study is, as I have already mentioned, due to his suggestion. The whole work was done under his supervision. His guidance and encouragement have been of invaluable help to me. And through his recommendation the Administrators to the Max Müller Memorial Fund have voted a sum of £50 for the publication of my dissertation—my thanks to them for this generous help. I am much indebted to Dr. F. W. Thomas, Librarian, India Office, and to Dr. J. Morison, Librarian, Indian Institute, Oxford, for granting me facilities in the use of books, and for their readiness to help me in every way whenever I had the occasion to seek their advice. I desire to put on record my special thanks to Mr. Madan, ex-Librarian of the Bodleian, for permission to work on valuable manuscripts during the dark days of air-raids, when the manuscripts had been carefully stored away. Professor A. B. Keith has placed me under great

obligation by giving me his valuable opinion on many difficult points. Dr. T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, has taken a good deal of interest in my work and has supported me in almost every obstacle to the completion of my studies.

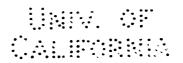
It has been my privilege to interpret an ancient Indian author, who, as far as Etymology and Semantics are concerned, is far in advance of the greatest of ancient Greek writers like Plato and Aristotle, and if he comes to be better appreciated, my labour will be amply repaid.

LAKSHMAN SARUP.

Balliol College, Oxford. July, 1920.

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#### INTRODUCTION

#### THE NIGHANTU

THE following manuscripts have been collated for this edition of the Nighantu:

1.	Max 1	Müller N	Iemorial	MS.	e. 5 = M 1
2.	"	,,	"	"	$\mathbf{e.}\ 6 = \mathbf{M}\ 2$
3 and 4.	,,	,,	<b>5</b> 3	,,	e. $7 = M 3$ and $M 4$ respectively
5.	Chand	ra Shun	n Shere	MS.	d. 184 = C1
6, 7, 8.	,,	,,	,,	,,	e. 62 = C2, C3, C4 respectively
9.	MS. S	anskrit			e. $17 = S$
10.	MS. W	<sup>7</sup> ilson			379 = W1
11 and 12.	,,	,,			502 = W2, W3 respectively
13.	"	,,			$508 = \mathbf{W4}$

#### a. Detailed Description of the Manuscripts.

M 1.—This is a neatly-written manuscript in Devanāgarī characters on paper. It originally consisted of 13 leaves, but the first two are missing. The accent has been marked in yellow ink. The text is not bounded on either side by double lines.

The size of the paper is  $9\frac{1}{5}$ "  $\times 3\frac{3}{5}$ ".

The number of lines on each page varies from 9 to 10. The date given on f. 14 r. as Śak. 1455, is not reliable, and has obviously been added at a later period by a different hand, as the evidence of the writing indicates. The manuscript is well preserved, but neither its general appearance nor the condition and the colour of its paper, nor its spelling lend the least support to the date given above. It is on the whole accurate. It belongs to the longer recension. The scribe seems to have been a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, for he says: श्री क्यापेयमस्. Neither the name of the scribe, nor of the owner, nor of the place of its origin, is known.

M 2.—This is perhaps the oldest of all the manuscripts of the Nighantu. It is written in Devanagari characters on paper, but is not well preserved. In many places it suffers from illegibility, partly caused by the smudging of the ink.

It begins: र्क नमी नविशाय। र्क । जब शिवां प्रवद्यामि . . . , &c. It gives the Éikṣā Catuṣṭaya in 26 leaves. The different treatises are not bodily

separated from each other, all the four, i.e. Śikṣā, Jyotiṣa, Chandas and Nighaṇṭu being written continuously without a break. The end of each is found on f. 4 r., f. 7 v., f. 12 r., and f. 24 v. respectively. The accent is not marked. The text is bounded on each side by double black lines.

The size of the paper is  $94'' \times 44''$ .

The number of lines on each page varies from 10-13.

It has preserved the archaic spelling in many cases, especially in the case of  $\frac{1}{3}$ ;  $\frac{1}{3}$ ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ); is written  $\frac{1}{3}$ ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ); and  $\frac{1}{3}$ ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ); as  $\frac{1}{3}$ ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ); on f. 22 v. Ff. 15–26 are slightly worm-eaten. It was copied in the month of  $\frac{1}{3}$ ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ); by a scribe named Sivānanda. It belongs to the shorter recension.

M 3.—This is a paper manuscript, neatly written in Deranāgarī characters. In this manuscript also the Śikṣā, Jyotiṣa, Chandas, and Nighaṇṭu are written without a break between them. The accent in the Nighaṇṭu is not marked. The size of the paper is 9"×4", and the number of lines on each page is 7. The text is bounded on each side by double red lines. The name of the owner is Āṣārāma Kedāreśvara, son of Śrī Nandarāma. It was copied for private study at Benares. The date given is Saṃvat 1801: (sic) संवत् १८०० वासित त्रावसमारे पुरुष पंचमीच वृद्धवार संवसमाप्ति: अनुमस्तु । The manuscript ends: (sic) संवैषा खिद्धवारंखा । १०० । जोवसंखा । ३७५।

### तैबाद्रचेष्यबाद्रचेद्रचेत्सिविबन्धनात्। मूर्वेद्दवे न दातवं एवं वदति पुक्रकम्। नुमं भवतु॥ क्वाबमसु॥

It belongs to the shorter recension.

M 4.—This contains the Śikṣā, &c., without a break between them, and gives, in 23 leaves, the Śikṣā, Jyotiṣa, Chandas, and Nighaṇṭu, which end on f. 5 v., f. 8 r., f. 13 r., and f. 23 v. respectively. The five adhāyās of the Nighaṇṭu end on f. 15 v., f. 18 v., f. 21 r., f. 22 v., f. 23 v. respectively. It begins: त्री बचेत्राय वन: ■ त्री दुवादेव वन: ■ के चच त्रिका प्रवच्यामि, &c. It ends: द्वि वेचंट्ये पंचनोधाय: समाप्त: ■

The size of paper is  $8\frac{2}{5}$ " x  $3\frac{2}{5}$ "; the number of lines on each page is 8. The text is bounded on either side by double red lines. The accent is marked in the *Nighantu* with red ink. No date is given, nor the name of the scribe, nor the place.

It belongs to the longer recension.

C 1.—It consists of three different manuscripts. The first manuscript, which gives the Nighantu in full, seems to be a fragment, for the first folio is numbered 10. It appears that originally it gave the Śikṣā Catuṣṭaya,

and that now the Nighantu alone survives. It begins on f. 10 r., and ends on f. 22 r. The text is bounded on each side by double red lines. The accent is marked. The size of the paper is 9"×4\frac{1}{2}"; the number of lines is 11. It ends: (sic) इति निचंदी पंचनोध्यायः ॥ श्री तीचनांडेश्वरापंगमसु ॥ श्री नंगा प्रसन् ॥

The date Śak. 1875, and the name of the then owner, Gopāla Ānanda Sarasvatī, are added in a different, probably later, hand. It belongs to the longer recension.

C 2.—Is the first of five different manuscripts bound in one volume [e. 62]. It contains the *Nighantu* in 17 leaves, marking the accent with red ink in the first adhyāya only.

It begins: ॥ श्री गर्गशाय नम: ॥ हरि: र्ज ॥ It ends: (sic) इति निषंटे पंचमोध्याय: ॥ समाप्त: ॥ Neither the date nor the name of the scribe is given.

The size of the paper is  $8\frac{1}{5}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ . The number of lines on each page is 7. Ff. 15, 16, 17 are slightly worm-eaten.

It is written in *Devanāgarī* characters on paper, and is fairly accurate. It belongs to the longer recension.

C3-C4.—Are contained in the same volume, each being a Śikṣā Catuṣṭaya, of which the Nighaṇṭu forms a part. The text of each of these Śikṣā Catuṣṭaya is written continuously, and is bounded by double red lines. The size of the paper is  $8\frac{1}{6}$ "  $\times$  4, and the number of lines on each page is 10. The first two sections of the first adhyāya are missing in the first manuscript. The other manuscript is dated Saṃvat, 1852.

Both are written in Devanāgarī characters and represent the longer recension.

The other manuscripts are a Śikṣā attributed to Pāṇini, and a Śikṣā attributed to Yājfiavalkya. The latter begins: (sic) को श्री निवास नमः याज्ञवस्क उवास सवातस्वेखक्षस्यां व्याक्षास्तामः उदात्तस्यानुदात्तस व्यक्तित्व तविव तत् सवां वर्षिष्यामि देवतं स्तानमेव च, &c. It ends: इति श्री याज्ञवस्क्यमुनिकता वाजसनेवीशिषा समाप्ता संवत्? ३० माधमासे . . . समाप्ता रामः विश्व विश्व विश्व वि

Another manuscript bound in the same volume gives in seven leaves the Śikṣā of the Sāma Veda, attributed to Lomaśa. It begins: उं नम: सामवेदाय. It has preserved some old spellings; for instance, it writes वेद as ावद.

The last manuscript gives the Chandomañjarī in 5 leaves. It begins: (sic) श्री गणपतथ नमः ॥ प्रयम्य वेदं पुरुषं इन्दःशास्त्रेषु निश्चितं । विष्यमङ्गिस्त्रदं प्रीकं

# हंदोमंबरिमाहिता ॥ १॥ हंदोमंबरी काखते ॥ प्रथमं हन्दः ॥ गायपी ॥ उदाहरणानि॰ वाप्रमीके ८। ८। ८ पदपंक्ति, &c.

It ends: र्ति श्री विष्कुमङ्गिरचिता छंदोमंबरी समाप्ता।

S4.—This manuscript contains five works. The first four consist of the Śikṣā Catuṣṭaya, of which the first three works are probably written by the same scribe. The first part gives the Śikṣā in 6 leaves, the second the Jyotiṣa in 4, the third the Chandas in 7 leaves, the fourth the Nighaṇṭu.¹ The first and third were copied in Śaka 1665, and the fourth in Śaka 1660. All these four parts are complete in themselves individually, each being separately numbered. The name of their former owner is Bhaṭṭa Jayanārāyaṇa of Theṃṭi.

The Nighantu consists of 9 leaves. The text is bounded on each side by a pair of double red lines. It is a neatly-written manuscript, The accent is marked with red ink. The size of the paper is  $9\frac{1}{2}" \times 3\frac{3}{4}"$ . For further details see Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bib. Bodl., by Winternitz and Keith, vol. ii, p. 105.

The manuscript belongs to the longer recension, and does not seem to have been used by Roth.

W 1.—This contains two different manuscripts. The first is Vedārthadīpikā, a commentary on the Sarvānukramanī by Sadgurusisya.

The second is the *Nighantu*. It begins on f. 1 v., and ends on f. 10 r. It is without accent, quite modern, and full of mistakes. It is Roth's F. It belongs to the shorter recension.

For further details, see Catalogus Codd. MSS, Bib. Bodl., by Winternitz and Keith, vol. ii, p. 104.

W 2.—This manuscript contains three different works.

- I. The first work is the Śikṣā Catuṣṭaya. It is a continuously-written manuscript, the four parts ending on f. 3 v., f. 6 v., f. 11 v., and f. 23 respectively. The Nighanţu is given without accent. It is Roth's C, and belongs to the shorter recension. For further details see Catalogus Codd. MSS. Bib. Bodl., vol. ii, p. 104.
- W 3. II. This is the second manuscript bound in the volume just mentioned. It gives the Nighantu in 24 leaves. It is without accent. The name of the scribe, partially obliterated by yellow pigment, is the following: सङ्गारायणस्तविश्रामेश विश्वितं ॥ रामेश्रपटनार्थम् ॥ परीपकारार्थम् ॥

It is Roth's D, and belongs to the shorter recension.

III. The third manuscript is the Anuvākānukramaņī.

W 4.—This manuscript contains two different works. The first is the Sikṣā Catuṣṭaya. Its first three parts are written continuously. The

<sup>1</sup> The fifth is the Uttaraşatkam of the Nirukta.

Nighantu is separated from the rest. It ends on f. 16, which gives a list of the total number of words and Khandas for each adhyāya as follows:—

	Khaṇḍa	words			
lst	17	412	<b>4t</b> h	8	279
2nd	22	516	$5\mathbf{th}$	6	151
8rd	80	410			

It is Roth's E, and belongs to the longer recension.

To these manuscripts, which I have directly collated myself, may be added the A and B which were used by Roth (not directly collated by me), besides C.D.E.F = W1, W2, W3, W4, and 禹, 禹, 禹, 禹, 禹, 禹d 禹 used by Sāmaśrami, in his edition, published in the Bib. Ind.

#### b. Two recensions.

The manuscripts fall into two distinct groups: M 2, M 3, W 1, W 2, W 3 and a form one family group, and M1, M4, C1, C2, C3, C4, S, W4; A, B, E; a, a, a, a, and a the other. The former may be called the shorter recension, the latter the longer. The chief reason for calling the former group the shorter recension is that at the end of every section the explanation is more concise than in the other. The latter not only gives an extended explanation at the end of every section, but also adds the number of the words enumerated in the section. Besides, at the end of every chapter, it gives a summary of the sections by quoting the first word of every section, and adds the number of the sections in the chapter. In many sections the shorter recension gives fewer words. It is difficult to decide which of these two represents the original. But as far as the longer explanation at the end of every section is concerned, it is quite obvious that it is a later addition. The evidence of the manuscripts shows that this addition was gradual. For instance, let us take the first section of the first chapter. All the manuscripts of the shorter recension agree in giving the text as follows: बोचेति पुचिचा:. Manuscript W 2 gives the number of the section only, i.e. | | 9 ||, and throughout it follows this method, which seems to have been the original one. Gradually a change was introduced: along with the number of the section, the number of the words in the section was added, and a numerical figure placed immediately before the number of the section, as the evidence of manuscripts M2 and W3 indicates, in the first section of the first chapter, | 29 | is placed before ॥ १॥ i.e. गोचेति पुणिकाः ॥ २१॥ १॥ In this connexion it is interesting to note that manuscripts W 1 and M 3 at first agree with W 2, but gradually come round to the side of M 2 and W 3. The next stage of development is marked by the incorporation of the numerical word in substitution for the

figure in the body of the explanation, as ॥ गोपेलेकियातिः पृथिकाः ॥. This is most clearly seen in the sections containing verbs, for instance, in sec. 16 of the first chapter, all the stages appear very clearly:

- a. युमदिति ज्यस्तिकर्माणः ॥ १६॥ W 1, W 2.
- c. घुमदिलेबादग्र ज्वजतिकमाणः ॥ १६॥ Manuscripts of longer recension.

From the verbs the process was extended by analogy to nouns, perhaps in imitation of Yāska's own words or for the sake of parallelism, নামইবানি was also introduced. Last of all came the summary and the statement of the sections in every chapter.

Yāska's description of the Nighaṇṭu । Samāmnāyaḥ Samāmnātaḥ । Sa vyākhyātavyaḥ । N. I. 1.—and taking into consideration the fact that in some cases, like that of Nighaṇṭu II. 6, 8, 11, &c., his only explanation is that a particular word has so many synonyms—suits the shorter recension better, for in the case of the longer recension such an explanation is superfluous. Nighaṇṭu II. 11, the shorter recension reads प्रकारीत गवां, while the longer has: प्रकारीत गवां गामानि, and Yāska's only explanation (N. 3. 9) is: गोनामानुत्राणि गव. To call this the explanation of the longer recension is absurd, while in the case of the shorter recension it may be accepted as an explanation to a certain extent.

#### c. Devarāja and his commentary.

Devarājayajvan explains every single word of the Nighanṭu; his commentary therefore is valuable, for it shows the state of the Nighanṭu in his day. Moreover, in the introduction to his Commentary, he gives a general description of the many manuscripts of the Nighanṭu known to him. He says: तेषु च केषुचिद्धेषु वेखकप्रमादादिमिः कानिचित्पदान्यधिकान्यासन्। चन्चेषु च कानिचित्र्यानि । चपरेषु च कानिचिद्पहाय कानिचित् विश्वसानि । चचराणि च विपर्यसानि । एवं वाकीर्योषु कोग्रेषु नियमैकभूतस्य प्रतिपद्निवेचननियमप्रदर्शनपरस्य कस्यचिद् वाख्यानस्याभावात् निष्ण्दकं काण्डमुत्सद्वप्रायमासीत्।

He has attempted to supply a critical edition, for he says that Yāska explained 150 words of the Naighanṭuka Kānḍu, and Skandasvāmi, in his commentary on Yāska, added some more, bringing the total to 200, so the evidence of Yāska and Skandasvāmi was very valuable for these 200 words. About the rest he says: अन्येषां च पदानामस्तत् कृषे समास्वाया-ध्ययस्वाविकेद्दात्-श्रीवेषुटाचार्यतनयस्व माधवस्व माधवस्त नामानुक्रमस्वा आस्वातानुक्रमस्वाः सरानुक्रमस्वा निपातानुक्रमस्वा निर्मानुक्रमस्वास्त्रदीयस्व माध्यस्य च वक्ष्यः पर्यास्त्रीचनात् वक्षदेशसमानीतात् वक्षयोशनिरीचगाञ्च पाटः संशोधितः।

Devarāja has frequently given the readings of former commentators like Skandasvāmi, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskaramiśra, and Mādhava, when he differed from them. His commentary has therefore the value of a collation of a number of manuscripts, brought as he says from various parts of the country, and also of the collation of former commentaries. I have carefully examined it and noted all the differences, as the foot-notes to the text will show.

#### d. Roth's edition of the Nighantu.

Roth examined the commentary of Devarāja, but the manuscripts which he used were probably defective, so that his results are unsatisfactory. Often he attributes readings to Devarāja which are not to be found in the published text of that commentator; for instance (I. 11) the reading up is attributed to Devarāja, who actually reads up; he also passes over variants given by Devarāja. Devarāja gives up; which Roth does not mention. Similarly Devarāja gives up; for uu; which Roth ignores. Other cases are:

- I. 14. Roth attributes যহৰ: to Dev., who reads যতন্ত্ৰ:, and gives যৰা:
  as a variant.
- I. 13. Dev. gives च्चतावर्धः for वर्धः as the reading of Mādhava, unnoticed by Roth.
- I. 18. Dev. gives रेवाबः for सवन्तः as another reading, unnoticed by Roth.
- I. 14. Roth attributes उद्येश्वनसः to Dev., whose actual reading is সীশ্বীশ্বনমঃ
- I. 15. Dev. reads তথ্য: for তথ্যা and gives তথ্য: as the reading of Skandasvāmi, unnoticed by Roth.
- I. 16. Dev. gives भूष्यित as another reading for आश्यति unnoticed by Roth.
- II. 1. Dev. gives चक्केलम् as the reading of Mādhava for चक्कत्, Roth does not notice it.
- II. 5. Dev. gives অধ্বৰ্থ: as a different reading for অথথ:, Roth does not notice it.
- II. 7. Dev. gives মথ: as the reading of Skandasvāmi also, but he further gives অব: as a variant. Roth does not notice it.
- II. 7. Dev. gi es सुत: as a variant for वय:, Roth does not notice it.

It is unnecessary to multiply instances, for all such cases can be easily found in my foot-notes to the text of the Nighantu.

Roth does not give any various readings for the fourth chapter of the Nighantu, although the evidence of the manuscripts as shown in this edition proves that there are several such variants.

There are a few inaccuracies of accent, for instance in III. 13.

মানি বঁ ই is accented in manuscripts, but not so in Roth's edition.

There is, however, a serious omission in IV. 2. **Equip**: has been omitted between **uguin**: and **unita**:. That the omission is an oversight appears from the fact that though this section is stated to contain 84 words, Roth's edition has only 83. Yāska explains every word of the fourth and fifth chapters of the *Nighanțu*. His evidence is therefore particularly valuable for a critical edition of the fourth and fifth chapters. He gives **equip**: in its proper place and explains it. Both the recensions agree in reading **equip**: between **uguin**: and **unita**:, and the testimony of Devarāja and **Yāska** supports this reading The omission in Roth's edition is thus evidently due to an oversight.

The evidence of Yāska on the fourth and fifth chapters of the Nighantu indicates that he follows the longer recension. Thus in IV. 1 the shorter recension gives (at.), but Yāska reads (at.), which is also the reading of the longer recension. Again (at.), which is omitted by the shorter recension, is explained by Yāska. In IV. 2 (at.) is omitted by the shorter recension, but not by Yāska. Devarāja has also followed the longer recension, and this choice seems to be followed by a long line of commentators, and is also, as Devarāja says, supported by an unbroken tradition in his own family. The shorter recension has undoubtedly preserved the original form of the text, at least towards the end of the sections, but the weighty testimony of Yāska is against it. I have therefore given the text and the order in which the words occur in accordance with the longer recension, though at the end of every section I have placed side by side the text of both recensions.

#### e. Bib. Ind. edition of the Nighantu.

Sāmaśrami's edition of the Nighantu is useful, for besides publishing the commentary of Devarāja Yajvan it supplies a much larger number of various readings than Roth. But it suffers from the one defect of presenting only Devarāja's reading of the text of the Nighantu. The commentary of Devarāja, however valuable as giving the various readings of the manuscripts of his time, cannot be made the sole basis of an edition of the Nighantu. Moreover, occasionally the text in this edition contains words which are not justified either by the evidence of the manuscripts of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This was admitted, and later on rectified by Roth himself.

both recensions, or even by that of Devarāja himself. For instance, on p. 236, appears the word संसति, which does not exist anywhere; again, on p. 257, we find साचिति instead of the correct form साचीति. Sāmaśrami seems to have used six manuscripts, from which he gives a number of various readings in foot-notes, but in the constitution of the text he has consistently followed Devarāja. Hence it is not a critical edition, from the point of view of constituting an independent text of the Nighantu based on manuscript evidence.

#### f. The title of the work.

Sāyaṇācārya in the Rgvedabhāṣyabhūmikā has given the title of Niruktam to this list of words. He says: चर्चाववोधे निर्पेषतया पद्जातं यत्रोतं तिज्ञकृत्वा । गा। जा। जा। जा। चा। चा। चा। चा। वसार्थ वसवः। वाजिनः। देवपत्थो देवपत्थ द्रावतो यः पदानां समाचायः समाचात्रस्मिन् गन्वे पदार्थाववोध्याय पर्पेषा न विवते . . . . । तदेतिज्ञकृतं विकाण्डम् . . . . पञ्चाध्यायक्षे काण्ड- चयात्राक एतिश्वन् गन्वे पर्निर्पेषितया पदार्थस्रोक्तलात् तस्य गन्वस्र निकाल्डमित्।

Madhusūdanasvāmi, the author of the Prasthānabheda has also given the title of Niruktam to this list of words. Similarly Sāmaśrami follows Sāyaṇa in calling the work Niruktam, although he adds in brackets (Nighaṇṭu). Sāyaṇa is evidently wrong in giving the title of Niruktam to the Samāmnāya, for Yāska distinctly states that it is called Nighaṇṭu. Samāmnāyaḥ samāmnātaḥ . . . . tam imam Samāmnāyaṃ Nighaṇṭava ityācakṣate i (N. I. 1). The list of words can only be called Nighaṇṭu, and it is wrong to call it Niruktam; the term Nirukta can be applied only when some etymological explanations are given. Moreover, all the manuscripts call it Nighaṇṭu.

#### g. The division of the Nighantu.

The Nighaṇṭu contains five chapters, the first three are called the Naighaṇṭuka Kāṇḍa, the fourth the Naigama Kāṇḍa, and the fifth the Daivata Kāṇḍa. In other words it may be said that

the Naighantuka Kāṇḍa deals with synonyms; the Naigama Kāṇḍa deals with homonyms; the Daivata Kāṇḍa deals with deities.

There is some sort of a principle discernible in the arrangement of the synonyms in the first three chapters. The first chapter deals with physical things like earth, air, water, and objects of nature like cloud, dawn, day and night, &c. The second chapter deals with man, his limbs, like arm, finger, objects and qualities associated with man, such as wealth, prosperity, anger, battle, &c.

The third chapter deals with abstract qualities such as heaviness, lightness, &c. The arrangement, of course, is not scientific, nor, in many cases, even systematic, but it shows at least an attempt to group the The compilation of the Nighantu is the earliest words methodically. known attempt in lexicography. In India it marks the beginning of the Kośa literature, and later Kośās have sometimes been called Nighantavas. The Nighantu contains only a small number of the words of the Rgveda. and as it does not contain any explanations of the words collected, in Sanskrit or any other language, the modern term 'dictionary' cannot be applied to it, although the Kośās can be so called. It should rather be called a vocabulary, which is a book 'containing a collection of words of a language, dialect, or subject'-when 'the words are few in number, being only a small part of those belonging to the subject, or when they are given without explanation, or some only are explained, or explanations are partial'.

#### h. The author of the Nighantu.

Nothing definite is known of the author of the Nighantu. There is a vague reference to the time of its compilation in the Nirukta I. 20, which attributes the compilation of the Nighantu along with other Vedāngas to a later generation of the sages who had no direct perception of dharma (truth).

The following two verses occur in the Mokṣa parvan of the Mahā-bhārata, chapter 342. 86, 87:

वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः खातो स्रोकेषु भारत । निष्यपुक्तपदाखाने विश्वि मां वृषसुत्तमम् ॥ कपिर्वराहः त्रिष्ठस्य धर्मस्य वृष उच्चते । तकाद् वृषाकपिं प्राह कक्षणो मां प्रवापतिः ॥

Some conclude from the second verse that Kaśyapa,¹ the Prajāpati, is the author of the Nighaṇṭu, for the word vṛṣākapi occurs in the Nighaṇṭu. It is not safe to build any argument upon such evidence, for supposing that Kaśyapa did invent the word vṛṣākapi he would be the last person to put his own word in a list of difficult words like those of the Nighaṇṭu. The Nighaṇṭu is probably not the production of a single individual, but the result of the united efforts of a whole generation, or perhaps of several generations.

<sup>1</sup> The theory of Kasyapa's authorship is indeed absurd, and hardly deserves any mention, but as many people in India believe in it, and seriously put it forward, I thought it necessary to make a passing reference to it.

#### THE NIRUKTA

#### a. Earlier editions of the Nirukta.

The editio princeps of the Nirukta was brought out by Rudolph Roth, and published at Göttingen in 1852. Sanskrit scholarship in Europe was then in its infancy. The bulk of the Vedic literature was as yet accessible in manuscripts only. Even the text of the Raveda in print was not available, Max Müller having given to the world the first two volumes only of his edition of the Rgveda with Sayana's commentary. Guides to Vedic studies which are now indispensable, such as Prof. Macdonell's Vedic Grammar, and books of reference like Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, did not exist at that time. There was not even a good Vedic dictionary. Taking these facts into consideration, Roth's achievement was remarkable. He was the first to observe that the text of the Nirukta has been handed down in two recensions, a shorter and a longer one, and to prepare a critical edition of the same based on the manuscript material to which he then had access. It must be admitted that as far as the text of the Nirukta is concerned Roth's work has not been superseded so far, and this fact alone is very creditable to the author of a work published nearly 70 years ago, and speaks highly of the critical judgement exercised by him in the constitution of the text.

But it is obvious that a work produced under such circumstances and about three-quarters of a century ago shows certain defects and limitations. First of all, the materials at his disposal were scanty. For instance, he seems to have consulted only one manuscript of Durga's commentary, i.e. MS. Mill 142,2 by no means an accurate manuscript, and Roth's incorrect quotations from Durga's commentary, which I have pointed out in my notes, are perhaps due to the errors of this manuscript. Hence he could not have found it a very reliable guide. Secondly, many of the then prevailing methods of indicating references are now obsolete, as, for instance, Roth's division of the Raveda into Mandala, anuvāka, &c., which has curtailed, to some extent, the usefulness of his Nachweisung, pp. 217-28. He gives a list of various readings at the end of the first and the second part of the Nirukta, but does not specify that such and such a variant is to be found in such and such a manuscript, a very unsatisfactory method of procedure, which no modern editor would follow. Further, Roth has adopted the text of the longer recension in his edition, but he does not



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Professor J. Wackernagel has been kind enough to write to me from Bâle that as Roth's *Nirukta* first began to be printed in 1847, he could not therefore have made use of Max Müller's edition of the *Rgueda*, the preface to the first volume of which is dated Oct. 1849.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Described by Keith in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. ii, p. 108.

show any reason for this preference. As proved by me elsewhere, the longer recension does not represent the original text of the Nirukta. Again, he divided the parisista into two chapters, the 13th and the 14th, a division not supported by the evidence of older manuscripts, which makes the whole of the parisista to consist of one chapter (the 13th) only. Roth is also wrong in using the term Naigama Kāndam as applicable to the first three chapters of the Nirukta, the right term being Naighantuka Kāndam. Further, there are some inaccuracies in the text of the Nirukta itself, which I have pointed out in my notes. Again, there is the inexplicable inconsistency in using large type for printing some Vedic quotations, and small type for others, even when they are of the same length, and are cited from the same Veda. For instance, the passage आपिले ने: प्रपिले त्यमा गेडिं is printed in large type and is accented, whilst the immediately following passage will agains at 2 is printed in small type, and is not accented, although both quotations are from the Rgveda. Other examples are: उपीप मे पर् मृश्र मा में दक्षाणि मन्यथा: 3 is in large type and accented, but नसी महज्ञयो नसी चर्मकेस: 4 is in small type 5 and unaccented. Again, तिरिचिद्येया परि वर्ति . . . . 6 is in large type and accented; while पाचेव भिद्यन्तत एति . . . . 7 is in small type and unaccented; and चमी य ऋषा निहितास उद्या 8 is in large type and accented; while पश्चनो बामिव स्ति: o is in small type and unaccented. Again, यसामुग्रका: प्रहर्गम ग्रेपन् 10 is in large type 11 and accented; while (a: का माह: अवयो वितसेन 18 is in small type and unaccented. And यस मुष्पाद्रोदंसी चर्नसेताम् 13 is in large type and accented; while रेजते चपे पृथिवी मखेभा: 14 is in small type and unaccented.

In one case, Roth treats both quotations in the same manner: वसीमें: पुष्तसुवी चहानम् 15 is in large type 16 and accented. यहत्त्वुपिबिद्धिका यद्द्यो चित् संपति 17 is also in large type and accented.

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10 RV. x. 85. 37.
<sup>1</sup> RV. viii. 4. 8; N. iii. 20, Roth's ed., p. 62.
                                                            11 Roth's ed., p. 64.
<sup>1</sup> RV. x. 188. 1.
                                                            <sup>12</sup> RV. x. 95. 5.
* RV. i. 126. 7.
<sup>4</sup> RV. i. 27, 18,
                                                            18 RV. ii. 12. 1.
<sup>5</sup> Roth's ed., p. 63.
                                                            14 RV. vi. 66, 9,
6 RV. v. 75. 7.
                                                            15 RV. iv. 19. 9.
                                                            16 Roth's ed., p. 63.
7 RV. vii. 104, 21,
8 RV. i. 24, 10.
                                                            17 RV, viii. 102. 21.
9 RV. iv. 7. 8.
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This practice of Roth is misleading, and is perhaps responsible for the fact that several Vedic passages printed in small type are omitted as occurring in the Nirukta by Bloomfield in his Vedic Concordance; a few such examples are the following: स्वार्धाः पूचात् नः,¹ printed in small type and without accents in Roth's edition,² is not mentioned in VC. as being quoted by Yāska, and similarly—

भनीके चिदुलोककत्<sup>3</sup> गातुं क्रयावतुषसी जनाय <sup>4</sup> कृत्साय मन्मत्रद्वास <sup>6</sup> वया इव **६६**जः सप्त विसुद्दः <sup>6</sup>

and also बळर आडर्पितम, a fragment of RV. I. 164. 12, and quoted in the Nirukta 4. 27, and नमस्तिपृत:, a fragment of VS. 7. 1, quoted in N. 5. 6, are ignored. (Besides the reference of परं मुखो सनुपरिष्ट पन्ना is wrong in VC.8 It is quoted in N. 11. 7, and not in N. 10. 7, as stated there. Also the reference to वीह भूर प्रोडाशम is wrong in VC., where it is RV. III. 46. 3, while the correct reference is RV. III. 41. 3. Other cases are: उर्व इव पप्रध कामो सकी, RV. III. 30. 19 c, is wrongly given as IV. 30. 19 c in VC, cf. p. 285 i; the reference of किनो न दीयत-वित पाष: is wrongly given as IX. 63. 5 in VC., p. 936 b, while the correct reference is VII. 63. 5 b.)

### The Bib. Ind. Edition of the Nirukta.

This was published at Calcutta under the editorship of Sāmaśrami from 1882-91. Its chief merit is that it, for the first time, supplies us with the commentary of Devarāja Yajvan on the Nighanṭu and of Durga on the Nirukta. It also adds an index to the words of the Nighanṭu as well as to the words of the Nirukta. The practical utility of this index, however, suffers much from its being separated into three indexes, one for each volume and not consisting of one single whole. Besides many misprints and errors of Sandhi, the text constituted is not very valuable from the critical point of view, and is thus not a trustworthy basis for further research. The editor, although his text generally agrees with the shorter

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<sup>1</sup> RV. vi. 55. 5; N. iii, 16; VC., p. 1052 b.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Roth's ed., p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> RV. x. 133. 1; N. iii. 20; Roth's ed., p. 62; VC., p. 95 b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> RV. iv. 51. 1: N. iv. 25; Roth's ed., p. 74; VC., p. 846 b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> RV. iv. 188, 1; N. iv. 25; loc. cit., VC.,

p. 828 b.

<sup>6</sup> RV. vi. 7. 6; N. vi. 3; Roth's ed., p. 91; VC., p. 839 b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> RV. x. 81. 1; N. xi. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, Vedic Concordance, p. 566 b.

<sup>9</sup> RV. iii. 41. 8; N. iv. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. p. 897 b.

recension, does not seem to realize that there are two recensions of the text of the Nirukta, and has thus unconsciously introduced an element of eclecticism in his edition. For instance, he omits the phrase: आवार्यः कवात (vol. ii, p. 49), probably on account of its being not found in the manuscripts of the shorter recension, but he puts the line स्वासः कलाकवासाः कामयमाना ऋतुकाचेषु (vol. ii, p. 132) within brackets in his constituted text, although it is omitted by manuscripts of the shorter recension. Further, he omits the passage: वृत्वा चां तिष्ठतीति वा चा चीयते निवासकर्मगः from his text, adding it in a foot-note with the remark: रत्निक: पाट: (vol. ii, p. 181). This shows that he does not follow any general plan with regard to the additional passages of the longer recension, as he sometimes puts them within brackets in the text itself, and sometimes adds them in foot-notes. This would also imply that he does not regard the passage, which he puts within brackets, as interpolations, but only those which he adds in foot-notes; this, to say the least of it, is altogether an arbitrary distinction, made with reference to the additional passages of the longer recension. Further, he is not consistent even in this, for occasionally he puts passages of the shorter recension within brackets as well (see vol. iii, pp. 121-22). Examples might be multiplied. Both these editions (i.e. Roth and Bib. Ind.) are very meagrely punctuated, and many sentences, being not properly divided, are misleading or tend to be obscure.

### The Bombay Edition.

Another excellent edition of the Nirukta, together with Durga's commentary, is that of Mahāmahopādhyāya, P. Śivadatta, published at Bombay in 1912. In type, in paper, and in general get-up it marks a distinct improvement on its predecessors. The sentences are intelligently divided, and, to a great extent, the obscurities due to defective punctuation in previous editions have been removed. The text followed is that of the longer recension, and the criticism to which Roth's text is subject, except his inconsistency with regard to the use of large and small type, is applicable to the Bombay edition as well. The editor does not state whether he uses any manuscripts or not in the constitution of his text. As a matter of fact, as expressly mentioned in his introductory remarks, he has taken the two previous editions as the basis of his own work. A critical edition of the Nirukta professing to represent the archetype as closely as possible, and based on the manuscript material hitherto not utilized is therefore still a desideratum. I have, on these grounds, undertaken to edit the Nirukta afresh.

Detailed Description of Manuscripts.1

MS. Max Müller Memorial, e. 8. M1.

PART I. A.D. 1749.

Contents: The Nirukta of Yaska in the longer recension, the text of which consists of two manuscripts, containing the two parts (the pūrvārdha and the uttarardha) respectively. The work is divided into chapters (adhyāyas) and sections (khandas) thus: Chapter I, which contains 20 sections, begins on f. 1 v. and ends on f. 10 r. Chapter II, 28 sections, ends on f. 21 r. Chapter III, 22 sections, ends on f. 32 v. Chapter IV has 27 sections, and ends on f. 42 v. Chapter V, 28, sections, ends on f. 53 v. Chapter VI, 36 sections, ends on f. 68 r. The chapters are written consecutively, and at the end of each chapter there is added a short summary, quoting the first word or words of every section—thus indicating and also expressly stating the number of sections in the chapter. bounded on both sides by double red lines, sometimes carelessly drawn, regularly up to f. 25 r., after which similar red lines only occasionally appear. A short red vertical stroke is placed above the letter where it indicates the application of the rules of euphonic combination, and is also used to mark the termination of a sentence, being thus a sign of punctuation. The danda appears at the end of a section only, but also points out the beginning and ending of a quotation. The red vertical stroke is often confusing as the accent in Vedic quotations is also marked with red ink.

There are two figures drawn vertically in red ink on f. 1 r. One looks like a goddess, probably  $Durg\bar{a}$ , seated in a chariot with a flying banner, the other is the god Ganeśa, seated on an ornamented lotus, to which is added in black ink the representation of a small bird, probably a peacock. The two figures contain between them the words: (sic) a figure gan a with gan a at tempt has been made to colour ff. 14, 29, 42, 49, 64 with yellow pigment, which is frequently used also to obliterate, though only with partial success, individual words, syllables, and letters. Black pigment is also employed to obliterate, for instance on f. 24 v., where half a line is completely covered. The manuscript is neat, well preserved, and accurate. It is the best among those belonging to the longer recension.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From the point of view of the general reader, the detailed description of the manuscripts can be much curtailed. But as the manuscripts of the Max Müller Memorial and Chandra Shum Shere collections have not been so far catalogued, this description, in addition to supplying information with regard to the manuscripts material available for a critical edition, is also intended to serve the purpose of a descriptive catalogue. And as Professor A. A. Macdonell is in favour of it, I have retained the whole of it, without any curtailment.

Size:  $8\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times 8\frac{3}{4}$ ". Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: ii. +68.

Number of lines per folio: 9; ff. 3 v.-13 v. have 10 lines each.

Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: On fol. 68 r.: (sic) संवे १६०१ (= A.D. 1749 प्रमाधीनामसंवत्सरे प्राचीनववतृतीयाहिने चिखितं (i.e. finished on the third day in the first fortnight of the month of Āśvan).

Scribe: On f. 68 r.: (sic) कासीनाध चनंत पुस्तकं विस्तृते त्री सदाश्विपणमसु॥
॥ त्री॥ इ.॥. He seems to be a faithful copyist, for he remarks (sic):

### यादृशं पुषाकं दृष्टा तादृशं सिखितं मया। यदि शुक्रमशुक्तं वा मम दोष न विकते॥

Peculiarity of spelling: t is doubled in conjunction, e.g. tya = ttya.

#### PART II. A. D. 1775.

Contents: The Nirukta of Yaska, Chapters VII-XIII, in the longer recension. The text is divided into chapters (adhyāyas and khandas), and sections thus: Chapter VII has 31 sections, begins on f. 1 v. and ends on f. 11 r. Chapter VIII has 22 sections, and ends on f. 16 r. Chapter IX has 43 sections, and ends on f. 24 r. Chapter X has 47 sections, and ends on f. 33 r. Chapter XI has 50 sections, and ends on f. 43 v. Chapter XII has 46 sections, and ends on f. 54 v. Chapter XIII has 50 sections, and ends on f. 70 r. The so-called two chapters of the parisista are treated as one. All the chapters are written consecutively without a break. Chapter VII begins with श्री नविशाय नमः ॥ श्री वेदपुर्वाय नमः ॥ Chapters VIII and X begin with | हरि: ची३म । Chapter IX with | श्री हरि: ची३म । Chapter XI with क् । श्री विठलप्रसङ्ग । क् । Chapter XII with । के ।, and Chapter XIII with n 新 n 专 n. Sect. 14 of the thirteenth chapter also begins with I the last word of the 13th section of the same chapter is repeated. At the end of each chapter a short summary, which quotes the first word or words of each section and states the number of sections in the chapter, is subjoined. The text is bounded on both sides by double red lines from f. 11 r. to f. 33 v. Punctuation is similar to that of Part I. Ff. 6 r.-10 v. do not give the Vedic stanza in full in the text itself, where the first few words only of the stanza are written, while the remaining part of the stanza is added in the margin. Black pigment is used to obliterate a part of the line on ff. 60 v. and 63 r. F. 66 is coloured light blue. This is also a neat, well-preserved, and accurately written manuscript.

Size:  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " ×  $8\frac{3}{4}$ ", and after f. 32,  $8\frac{1}{4}$ " ×  $8\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: 70+ii blank. Number of lines per folio: 9.

Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: On f. 70 r. (sic) संवत् १८ ॥ ३१ (= A.D. 1775) विश्वावसु संवत्सरे वैष अपु १३ (i.e. finished on the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra).

Scribe: On f. 70 r.: मृजुविश्वनाचभद्र.

Although these two parts are brought together in the same volume in order to make up the text of the *Nirukta* they are not related to each other except in so far as they both belong to the longer recension. They were copied at different times as their respective dates show. And the fact that the first part uses the Saka era, while the second, the Vikrama era, indicates that the former comes from the south, while the latter from the north. For the sake of convenience I have used the sign M 1 for both these parts.

#### MS. Max Müller Memorial, d. 23. M 2.

It is a very neat and beautifully written and modern manuscript.

Size  $10\frac{3}{4}$ " ×  $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: ii + 55 + ii blank.

Number of lines: 9. Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: Not given, but looks modern.

Scribe: Not known.

The colophon runs: इति निक्ते वण्डो (ध्याय: ॥ मुभं भवतु ॥

#### MS. Max Müller Memorial, d. 24. M3.

Contents: The Nirukta of Yāska in the shorter recension. The parisiṣṭa is treated as one chapter, and all the 13 chapters are written consecutively, the pūrvārdha being separated from the uttarārdha only by the words: (sic) ৷ হবি আই: ৷ The text is divided into adhyāyas, pādas, and khaṇḍas thus: Chapter I begins on f. 1 v. with the words ৷ মৌ বাইম্যায় কর: ৷ has 4 pādas, which end on ff. 3 r., 7 r., 9 v., and 11 v. respectively.

The sections are numbered continuously—the numbering of sections in each  $p\bar{a}da$  being not afresh, but the continuation from the previous section —thus Chapter I has 27 sections; the 1st pāda comes to an end after the 5th section; 2nd pāda after the 15th section; the 3rd pāda after the 21st section; and the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  after the 27th section. Chapter II has 7  $p\bar{a}das$ : 1st pāda has 7 sections, and end on f. 14 r.; 2nd pāda has 5 sections, and ends on f. 16 r.; 3rd pāda has 3 sections, and ends on f. 17 r. (where it is wrongly stated । तृतीयसार्धः ।); 4th pāda has 7 sections, and ends on f. 18 v.; 5th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 3 sections, and ends on f. 19 v.; 6th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 5 sections, and ends on f. 21 r.; 7th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 23 v. Sections in this chapter are not numbered continuously, but at the end of the chapter; the total number of the sections is stated thus: (sic) सप्तमः पादः। खांडकां 3६। दितीयोधाय:. Chapter III has 4 pādas; the 1st pāda has 7 sections, and ends on f. 26 r.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 29 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 32 r.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections. and ends on f. 35 r. As in Chapter II, the total number of sections is stated to be 25. Chapter IV has 4 pādas; the 1st pāda has 8 sections, and ends on f. 37 v.; the 2nd pāda has 8 sections, and ends on f. 40 r; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 43 r; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 7 sections, and ends on f. 45 v. As before, the total number of sections is given in the colophon on f. 45 v. as 29. Chapter V has 4  $p\bar{a}das$ ; the 1st  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 48 v.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 8 sections, and ends on f. 51 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 7 sections, and ends on f. 54 r.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$ has 10 sections, and ends on f. 57 v.; the total number of sections being given as 31. Chapter VI has 5 pādas; the 1st pāda has 5 sections, and ends on f. 60 r.; the 2nd pāda has 13 sections, and ends on f. 65 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 8 sections, and ends on f. 68 v.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 5 sections, and ends on f. 70 v.; the 5th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 8 sections, and ends on f. 73 v.; the total number of sections, i.e. 39, being added in the colophon, which runs as follows: (sic) पंचमः पादः ॥ षष्ठोध्यायः। षांद्यकां ३० ॥ छ ॥६॥ इति चर्चः ॥ Chapter VII has 7 pādas; the 1st pāda has 5 sections, and ends on f. 75 v.: the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 3 sections, and ends on f. 76 v. (wrongly numbered

as 75 on the restored part); the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 10 sections, and ends on f. 79 r.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 5 sections, and ends on f. 80 v.; the 5th  $p\bar{a}da$ has 3 sections, and ends on f. 81 v.; the 6th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 9 sections, and ends on f. 83 v.; the 7th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 9 sections, and ends on f. 86 v.; the total number of sections, i.e. 44, is added in the colophon. Chapter VIII has 3  $p\bar{a}das$ ; the 1st  $p\bar{a}da$  has 4 sections, and ends on f. 88 r.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$ has 12 sections, and ends on f. 91 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 7 sections, and ends on f. 93 v.; the total number of sections, 23, is stated in the colophon as before. Chapter IX has 4 pādas; the 1st pāda has 10 sections, and ends on f. 96 r.; the 2nd pāda has 11 sections, and ends on f. 98 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 13 sections, and ends on f. 102 r.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 9 sections, and ends on f. 104 r.; the total number of sections being 43. Chapter X has 4 pādas; the 1st pāda has 13 sections, and ends on f. 108 r.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 11 sections, and ends on f. 110 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 13 sections, and ends on f. 114 r.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 10 sections, and ends on f. 116 v.; the total number of sections being 47. Chapter XI has 4 pādas; the 1st  $p\bar{a}da$  has 12 sections, and ends on f. 119 r.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 9 sections, and ends on f. 121 v.; the 3rd pāda has 13 sections, and ends on f. 125 r. (the colophon is completely obliterated with black pigment); the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$ has 16 sections, and ends on f. 128 v.; the total number of sections being 50. Chapter XII has 4 pādas; the 1st pāda has 11 sections, and ends on f. 131 v.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 8 sections, and ends on f. 133 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$ has 15 sections, and ends on f. 136 v.; the 4th pāda has 12 sections, and ends on f. 140 r.; the total number of sections, as stated in the colophon, is 46. Chapter XIII, written consecutively, has 4 pādas; the 1st pāda has 13 sections—the last word of the 13th section is repeated, a sign of the termination of the chapter—and ends on f. 144 r.; the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 19 sections, and ends on f. 152 v.; the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 9 sections, and ends on f. 155 r.; the 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 7 sections, and ends on f. 157 v.

It marks the accent not only on Vedic stanzas, but on fragments of Vedic quotations also, several words preceding the quotation are similarly marked. The danda appears at the end of a section, or the beginning and end of a quotation.

Size:  $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ . Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: ii + 157 + ii blank. Number of lines: 8; f. 157 has 9 lines.

Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: Not given, but rather old.

Scribe: Not known.

Injuries: It is a very much injured manuscript; f. 12 is torn on the left-hand side, and the text is restored on a patched-up piece of paper; a part of ff. 23 and 52 is injured and the text is similarly restored; on f. 153 v. and 154 v. the right half is restored; f. 157 is restored in a different handwriting. Besides, the leaves are torn in innumerable marginal spaces, but without injuring the text.

Peculiarity of spelling: It has preserved the old calligraphy. Some of the chief peculiarities are: with wis sometimes written as wi; e.g. f. 1 v., line 5, numer is written numer. Cf. also f. 1 v., line 6.

ए is written as TU; e.g. f. 1 v., line 5, तर्ब = ताचे; f. 2 v., line 1, तिनैद = ताचे; f. 63 r., line 2, नैक्सा: = निक्सा:, and so on.

ए is occasionally written as 1/, e.g. f. 2 r, line 5, वेंद्रे = वाद and जायते = जायात, line 6, वर्धते = वर्धात; f. 2 v., line 8, व्यक्तितस्त = व्योगस्तस्त.

But in the case of **ए** this method is not always adhered to; occasionally **ए** is written in the ordinary way, e.g., f. 2 v., line 5, **प्रवागर्थ** and not **प्रवागर्थ**; f. 2 v., line 7, **प्रविगार्थ** and not **प्रवागर्थ**; f. 63 r., line 2, यहन्ये and not यहान्य, व्योगुः and not व्यायगुः.

श्री is written as श्री, e.g., f. 2 r., line 1, मी: = गो:, line 2, वचनमीदुंबरायण: = वचनामोदुंबरायण:, line 8, सांयीगिकानां = सांयोगिकानां.

Occasionally **प** is written like **य**, and the sign of **उ** in conjunction is added, not at the bottom, but on the side of a letter; e.g., f. 1 v., line 3, **इत्योपमन्यवो** = **इत्योपमन्यवो**; but f. 2 r, line 1. **पुरुषो** is written in the ordinary way; f. 1 v., line 3, **स्व:** = **स्वा:**.

त is written as a short horizontal stroke in conjunction with other letters; e.g., f. 1 v., line 4, चलारि = चहारि, line 6, सल = सह; f. 2 r, line 5, चिलालाकार्य के = चिलाहाद्वर्म ; f. 1 v., line 7, मूर्त = मूर्त.

त is occasionally written as a short horizontal stroke, even when it is not a conjunct consonant; e.g., f. 2 r., line 2, चतुइं = चनुइं, but in conjunction with य it is written in the ordinary way; e.g., cf. यानिख above, and प्रमुख॰, f. 1 v., line 6. There is dittography also, e.g., f. 2 r., line 3, युगपदुत्पद्वाद्वां.

The manuscript belongs to a period when calligraphy was still in a process of transition, consequently it preserves the old and new forms of letters side by side; it cannot therefore be later than the fifteenth century. I think that among the manuscripts of the *Nirukta* in the Bodleian this is the oldest and best manuscript belonging to the shorter recension.

#### MS. Max Müller Memorial, e. 9. M 4.

Size:  $11'' \times 5''$ .

Material: paper.

Number of leaves: ii + 96 + ii blank.

Number of lines: 7. Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: Not given. Scribe: Not known.

The colophon on f. 96 r. runs as follows: ॥ इति निकृते परिशिष्ठसतुर्दशो-ध्याय: ॥ १४॥ श्री रामवयरामवयवयराम श्री ॥

It is a neat, well-written, fairly accurate, and modern manuscript.

#### MS. Chandra Shum Shere, d. 178. C 1.

The text of the *Nirukta* is made up of two different manuscripts, which contain Chapters I-VI and VII-XII respectively, but both are incomplete, and both belong to the longer recension. The two parts are separated by a fragment of a third manuscript (ff. 38-43), which gives a part of Chapters XI and XII. The fragment has no value for the purpose of collation, and is therefore ignored.

#### PART L

Contents: The Nirukta (Chapters I-VI) in the longer recension. The text is divided into chapters and sections thus: Chapter I begins on f. 1 v., has 20 sections, and ends on f. 7 v; Chapter II has 28 sections, and ends on f. 12 r.; Chapter III has 22 sections, and ends on f. 18 v.;

Chapter IV has 27 sections, and ends on f. 25 r.; Chapter V has 28 sections, and ends on f. 30 r.; Chapter VI has 35 sections only, the remaining sections are missing. The text is bounded on both sides by double red lines ff. 1-21; by double black lines ff. 11 r, 17 v, and 22-36; f. 12 is written in a different handwriting. The accent is marked in red ink in Vedic stanzas only. Double short vertical red strokes are used to indicate sandhi and the end of a sentence, which are replaced by similar black strokes from f. 7 v.-f. 12 r., which are again replaced by a similar single red stroke ff. 19-30. The danda, as usual, appears at the end of a section only, or at the commencement and the termination of a quotation. The chapters are written consecutively. Numerous notes are added on the margin, and sometimes between the lines of the text also, e.g. ff. 2, 3, 12, 18 v., 19. At the end of each chapter a short summary, as described on page 1, is subjoined:

Size  $13'' \times 5''$ . Material: paper.

Number of leaves: 1+36+i blank.

Number of lines: 10 ff. 1-25; 11 ff. 26-36.

Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: The last leaves of the manuscript are missing; neither the date nor the name of the scribe is known. From its appearance the manuscript looks old, f. 8 is numbered as f. 9, and f. 9 as f. 11, and the mistake continues up to the end; the reference to folios are therefore to the number added in pencil.

Injuries: It is injured in many places, e.g. ff. 7-12 on the top (left).

#### PART II.

Contents: The uttarārdha of the Nirukta (Chapters VII-XII) in the longer recension. The text is divided into chapters and sections thus: Chapter VII begins on f. 1 v. with the words । जी गणेशाय नमः ॥ कें। has 31 sections, and ends on f. 11 r (= f. 54 r.); Chapter VIII has 22 sections, and ends on f. 15 v. (= f. 58 v.); Chapter IX has 43 sections, and ends on f. 23 v. (= f. 66 v.); Chapter X has 47 sections, and ends on f. 32 r. (= f. 75 r.); Chapter XI has 30 sections, and ends on f. 40 v. (= f. 83 v.); Chapter XII has 43 sections only, and ends on f. 48 v. (= f. 91 v.); the remaining portion of the manuscript is missing. All the chapters are written consecutively, and at the end of each chapter a summary similar to that of Part I is added. The text is bounded on both sides by two sets on double black lines, ff. 1-34 (ff. 44-77) and ff. 41-48 (ff. 84-91); and by similar red lines ff. 85-40 (ff. 78-83). The accent is marked in red ink in Vedic stanzas

only, and a short vertical red stroke is occasionally used for punctuation; the use of the danda is similar to that of Part I. F. 9 (= f. 52) is written in a different handwriting.

Size:  $11\frac{9}{10}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$ . Material: paper.

Number of leaves: 48+i blank.

Number of lines: 9-10. Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: The last part of the manuscript is missing; consequently the date and the name of the scribe are not known.

Injuries: ff. 18 (= 61), 34-40 (= 77-83) are slightly injured in the top margin; f. 22 (= 65) is practically defaced by black and yellow ink, and f. 28 (= 71) by water.

MS. Chandra Shum Shere, d. 181. C 2.

The text is made up of two different manuscripts.

#### PART I.

Contents: The pūrvārdha of the Nirukta in the longer recension. The manuscript is fragmentary and incomplete, containing Chapters I, IV, V, and a part of the first section of the VI. The text is divided into chapters and sections. Chapter I has 20 sections, and ends on f. 13 v. Chapter IV has 27 sections, and ends on f. 26 r. Chapter V has 28 sections, and ends on f. 40 r. The accent is marked in red ink in Vedic stanzas only, while a short vertical red stroke is used for punctuation. The words (sic) a figure of figure is a different handwriting. F. 1 r. has a figure of Ganesa drawn rather crudely in red with two female attendants.

Size:  $13\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ". Material: paper.

Number of leaves: i+40. Number of lines: 7-8. Character: Devanāgarī. Date and scribe: Not known.

Injuries: ff. 13-14 are slightly injured by worms. It looks modern. The numbering in the original is wrong; the reference is to the number added in pencil. It is full of mistakes.

Peculiarity of spelling: f. 2, l. 1 ब्रज्या is written as वर्ज्य, f. 2, l. 1 गी is written as वर्ज,

#### PART II.

Contents: The uttarārdha of the Nirukta (Chapters VII-XIII) in the The text is divided into chapters and sections thus: Chapter VII has 31 sections, and ends on f. 6 v. (= 46 v.); the colophon adds: श्री रामो जयतेतरां ॥ इ. 11 Chapter VIII has 22 sections, and ends on f. 10 r. (=50 r.); Chapter IX has 43 sections, and ends on f. 15 r. (=55 r.); Chapter X has 47 sections, and ends on f. 20 v (= 60 v.); Chapter XI has 50 sections, and ends on f. 26 v. (= 66 v.); Chapter XII has 46 sections, and ends on f. 32 r. (=72 r.); Chapter XIII begins on f. 32 v. (=72 v.), has 13 sections, and ends on f. 34 v. (=74 v.); the colophon runs (sic) ॥ इति निक्ते उत्तरघटके सप्तमोध्यायः ॥ इ.॥ युमं भवतु ॥ इ.॥ श्री महागणपतये नमः ॥ the last chapter, which is also named XIII, has 37 sections, which are not numbered anew, but continuously from the previous section, and ends on Chapters VIII-XII are written consecutively, and f. 42 r. (= 82 r.). a summary, similar to the one described on p. 1, is added at the end of each chapter, but the summary on f. 42 r. (= 82 r.) also includes that of the first 13 sections, although the summary of these sections is already subjoined on f. 34 v. (=74 v.).

The colophon on f. 42 r (= 82 r) runs thus: ॥ इति निरक्ते चयोदशोधायः ॥
The text is bounded on both sides by double black lines, ff. 1-23 (= 41-63)
and ff. 38-42 (=78-82) by similar red lines, ff. 24-36 (= 64-76), f. 37 (=77)
is coloured yellow. A short vertical red stroke is employed for punctuation, the dropping of visarga is indicated by adding them on the top of
the letter just before the red stroke, e.g. f. 1 v. (= 41 v.), l. 3: प्रवच्यातां
आधात्मिः; op. cit. l. 4: पृथ्वां द्द्रमः; op. cit. l. 8: •पुरुषयोगं चहमिति, and
so on.

Occasionally the short red stroke is written 15, but the sign 5 is not meant to point out the elision of short a, e.g. op. cit. l. 5: प्रवेष दिल्हे. Sometimes 5 is replaced by x. The danda appears at the end of a section, or at the beginning and end of a quotation. The accent is marked in red ink on Vedic stanzas.

Size:  $13\frac{1}{6}$ "  $\times 5\frac{3}{5}$ ". Material: paper.

Number of leaves: 42+i blank.

Number of lines: 12-17. Character: Devanāgarī. Date and scribe: Not known.

Injuries: f. 1 = 41, ff. 21-22 = 61-22, f. 23 = 63 are slightly injured.

It is a neat, but closely written manuscript.

MS. Chandra Shum Shere, d. 182. C3.

The text of the Nirukta is made up of two manuscripts.

#### PART I.

Contents: The pūrvārdha of the Nirukta in the longer recension. The work is divided into chapters and sections thus: Chapter I begins on f. 1 v. with the words: (sic) श्री गोगा। श्री रामाय नमः, has 20 sections, and ends on f. 7 r. Chapter II has 28 sections, and ends on f. 12 r. (ff. 8-9, containing sections 3-11 of the second chapter, are missing in the original). Chapter III has 22 sections, and ends on f. 18 r. (ff. 19 and 21-23, containing sections 11-12 and 14-19, are missing in the original). Chapter IV has 27 sections, and ends on f. 23 v. Chapter V has 28 sections, and ends on f. 29 v. Chapter VI has 36 sections, and ends on f. 38 r. The chapters are written consecutively, the summary is added as usual, punctuation and accents in Vedic stanzas are marked in red ink. The text is bounded on both sides by double black lines, f. 1 r. has a few laudatory verses written on it and the words: (sic) पर परिशेष्ट । इस मुनियदिति । सन्

A part of line 9 on f. 5 r., and of line 4 on f. 7 r., of line 5 on f. 7 v., is obliterated with black pigment. Two lines are added to the top of f. 13 v., f. 19 v. is partially defaced by light red ink, and half a line on f. 20 r. is similarly obliterated with red pigment. Colophon on f. 38 r. runs thus:

। इति निक्ते पूर्वच्छे यहो ध्यायः । श्री रामचङ्गाय नमः । श्री विश्वस्राय नमः ।

गुममस् । श्री वक्तंदाय नमः । A female figure is drawn on f. 38 v., and a list of several articles is added. The prominent difference of ink, characters, carelessness, occasionally disproportionate red vertical strokes, frequent use of red ink for marginal notes, smudging of the black ink, give a very untidy appearance to the manuscript.

Size:  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{10}''$ . Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: i+38+i blank.

Number of lines: 10-11. Character: Devanāgarī. Date and scribe: Not known.

The name of the owner is given on f.1 r. as Godabole Laksmana Bhatta. Peculiarity of spelling: It occasionally writes र as न, e.g., f. 1 v., line 1, श्री रामाय = श्री नामाय. Like M 1, it frequently doubles t in conjunction with other letters, e.g. f. 1 v., line 2, समाद्दाय = समाद्दाय; line 3, र्बोप-मन्यव: = र्व्योपमन्यव:; line 4, व्यारि = व्यारि; line 8, निसं = निष्यं.

#### PART II.

Contents: The uttarardha of the Nirukta (Chapters X-XIII) in the longer recension. The text is divided into chapters and sections thus: Chapter X begins on f. 1 r. (=40 r.), has 47 sections, and ends on f. 16 v. (=55 v.). Chapter XI has 50 sections, and ends on f. 31 v. (=70 v.). These two chapters are written consecutively. Chapter XII begins with । श्री निषेशाय नमः । has 46 sections, and ends on f. 13 v. (= 83 v.). This seems to be a different manuscript from the previous one containing Chapters X-XI; the pagination begins anew, the handwriting is different, and unlike the former the text is bounded on both sides by double red lines. The parisista is separated from Chapter XII, and is treated as one chapter. on f. 1 r. (= 84 r.), has 50 sections, and ends on 14 v. (= 97 v.). The last word of the 13th section is repeated, but the summary is added at the end of the 50th section. The summary, as usual, is added at the end of every chapter. The accent is marked in red ink in Vedic quotations, while a short vertical red stroke is used for punctuation. A line in different handwriting is added at the bottom of f. 1 v. (= 40 v.). A line and a half in red ink is added on the right-hand margin of f. 22 r. (= 61 r.); part of the 50th section of the eleventh chapter is finished off on the top and righthand margin on f. 31 v. (= 70 v.). A line is added on the top of f. 11 v. (= 81 v.). Section 43 of Chapter XIII is left out in the text, but added on the top and the margin on the right on f. 13 r. (= 96 r.).

Size:  $9'' \times 4''$ .

Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: 31 + 13 + 12 (= 58) + i blank.

Number of lines: 7 to 9. Character: Devanagarī.

Date and scribe: Not known; the colophon runs thus: ॥ श्री निरुक्त उत्तरबद्धे सप्तमोध्यायः ॥

Injuries: It is slightly injured by worms in several places, e.g. ff. 7-4 (= 47-54) and ff. 1-3 (= 84-86).

It has a modern look.

## MS. Chandra Shum Shere, d. 179. C4.

The text is made up of two manuscripts, containing the *pūrvārdha* and the *uttarārdha*, with the *pariśiṣṭa* respectively, each being copied by a different scribe, at a different place and period. They will therefore be separately described.

### MS. 1. A.D. 1629 Copied at Benares.

Contents: The  $p\bar{u}rv\bar{u}rdha$  of the Nirukta in the shorter recension; the text is divided into chapters,  $p\bar{u}das$ , and sections, thus: Chapter I has 6  $p\bar{u}das$ ; the 1st  $p\bar{u}da$  contains 5 sections, and ends on f. 2 v.; it is not stated where the 2nd  $p\bar{u}da$  comes to an end, probably it should be ended after the 4th section, as the number of the following section begins anew; the 3rd  $p\bar{u}da$  has six sections, and ends on f. 6 v.; the 4th  $p\bar{u}da$  has 4 sections, and ends on f. 8 r.; the 5th  $p\bar{u}da$  has 2 sections, and ends on f. 9 v.; the 6th  $p\bar{u}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 11 v.; 27 being the total number of sections given in the colophon, which runs thus: (sic) 1  $\xi$  1 29 1  $\xi$  1

Chapter II has 7 pādas: the 1st pāda contains 7 sections, and ends on f. 13 v.; 2nd pāda contains 5 sections, and ends on f. 16 r.; 3rd pāda contains 3 sections, and ends on f. 17 r.; 4th pada contains 7 sections, and ends on f. 18 v.; 5th pāda contains 3 sections, and ends on f. 19 v.; 6th pāda contains 5 sections, and ends on f. 21 r.; 7th pāda contains 6 sections, and ends on f. 23 r.; the total number of sections being 36. Chapter III has 4 pādas: 1st pāda contains 7 sections, and ends on f. 25 v.; 2nd pāda contains 6 sections, and ends on f. 28 v.; 3rd pāda contains 6 sections, f. 30 containing sections 5-6 is missing; 4th pāda contains 6 sections, and ends on f. 33 v.; the total number of the sections being 25. Chapter IV has 4 pādas: 1st pāda has 8 sections, and ends on f. 35 v.; 2nd pāda has 8 sections, f. 38 containing a part of the 8th section of the 2nd  $p\bar{a}da$ , and the 1-2 sections of the 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  is missing; 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  has 6 sections, and ends on f. 40 v.; 4th pāda has 7 sections, and ends on f. 43 v. Chapter V has 4 pādas: 1st pāda contains 6 sections, and ends on f. 46 r.; 2nd pāda contains 8 sections; f. 48 containing sections 6-8 is missing; 3rd pāda contains 7 sections, and ends on f. 51 r.; 4th pāda contains 10 sections, and ends on f. 54 r.; the total number of sections being 31. Chapter VI has 6 pādas: 1st pāda contains 5 sections, ending on f. 56 r.; 2nd pāda contains 6 sections, and ends on f. 58 r.; 3rd  $p\bar{a}da$  contains 7 sections, and ends on f. 61 r.; 4th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 8 sections, and ends on f. 64 r.; 5th  $p\bar{a}da$  has 5 sections, and ends on f. 66 r.; 6th pāda has 8 sections, and ends on f. 68 v.; f. 1 is missing. The text is bounded on both sides by double black lines. Punctuation is similar to that of C 3. Occasionally marginal notes are added in red ink.

Size:  $8\frac{3}{10}$ "  $\times 3\frac{4}{5}$ ". Material: paper.

Number of leaves: i + 64.

Number of lines: 10. Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: on f. 68 v. (= 64 v.): (sic) इति संवत् १६५३ वर्षे वैशाखवब ४ वृधे (i.e. completed on Wednesday in the former half of the month Vaisākha A.D. 1627).

Scribe: on f. 68 v. (= 64 v.): (sic) च हाउसुत् च शिवासुत् च र्छर्सुत् च फ्फीपुच श्रामेन खाखीतं पठनार्धं॥

Place: on f. 68 v. (= 64 v.): (8ic) ॥ ऋविसुक्तवाराखशीमध्ये खषीतं वृज्जनग-रवास्त्रयं ॥ गंगाये नमः ॥

Injuries: ff. 1, 30, 38, 48 are missing; f. 22 is injured, and slightly defaced, and f. 33 is defaced by marginal notes.

Peculiarity of spelling: ए is occasionally written as 1/, e.g. f. 2 r. line 2: इतरेतरोपदेश: = इतरेतरोपादश: f. 2 r., line 8: वर्षते = वर्षात f. 2 v., line 4: प्र परे॰ = प्र पार॰ श्री is occasionally written as 1/1 e.g. f. 2 v., line 2: नामाख्यातयोः = नामाख्यातायाः but cf. line 3, f. 2 v., line 8: सर्वतो = सर्वाता र is occasionally written in conjunction thus: f. 3 r., line 2: प्रतिवेधार्थियो = प्रतिवेधार्थियो, line 4: उपमादश्यः

Manuscript containing the uttarārdha. A.D. 1691.

Copied at Dacca.

Contents The second part (Chapters VII-XII) of the Nirukta in the shorter recension; the text is divided into chapter,  $p\bar{a}da$ , and section. In this division, and the number of pādas in a chapter, and that of sections in a pāda, it agrees with M 3. The 7 pādas of Chapter VII end on ff. 3 r. (=67 r.), 4 v. (=68 v.), 7 v. (=71 v.), 9 r. (=73 r.), 10 v. (=74 v.), 13 r.(=77 r.), 16 v. (=80 v.) respectively; the 3 pādas of Chapter VIII end on ff. 18 r. (= 82 r.), 21 v. (=85 v.) 24 r. (= 88 r.) respectively; the 4  $p\bar{a}das$  of Chapter IX end on ff. 27 v. (= 91 v.); 30 r. (= 94 r.), 83 v. (= 97 v.), 35 v. (= 99 v.) respectively; the 4 pādas of Chapter X end on ff. 39 v. (= 103 v.), 42 v. (106 v.), 46 r. (110 r.), 48 v. (= 112 v.) respectively; the 4  $p\bar{a}das$  of Chapter XI end on ff. 51 v. (= 115 v.), 54 r. (= 118 r.), 58 v. (= 122 v.), 62 v. (126 v.) respectively; the 4 pādas of Chapter XII end on ff. 65 v. (=129 v.), 68 r. (= 132 r.), 71 v. (= 135 v.), 75 v. (= 139 v.) respectively. f. 56 r. (= 120 r.) is left blank. The text is bounded on both sides by treble black lines. The accent in Vedic quotations is marked in red ink. The short vertical stroke is replaced by a similar black stroke for punctuation. The use of the danda is similar to M 3.

The parisista is separated from Chapter XII, and is contained in ff. 76-94 (= 140-158). The division of the text into  $p\bar{a}das$  and Khandas

is identical with M 3. The 4  $p\bar{a}das$  of Chapter XIII end on ff. 80 v. (= 144 v.), 89 r. (= 153 r.), 91 v. (= 155 v.), 94 r. (= 158 r.) respectively.

Pagination is continued from the end of Chapter XII. The date given on f. 94 r. (= 158 r.): (sic) संव १७४५ वर्षे ज्येटमासे मुक्कपचे १५ मुद्दासरे॥ cannot be genuine, for it is clear from the numbering of folios that it must have been written after Chapter XII, which was finished in संवत् १७४७; hence, it could not be earlier than १७४७. The name of the scribe is Harīrāma, a resident of Muphalīpura. The colophon runs thus: (sic) चवेह धोलकामध्ये मुफ्लीपुरवास्तवं वृजनगरचातीय पंचोबीदुसासुक्रण सु॰ इरीइर सु॰ इरीरामेन खयं विवितं.

Size:  $9'' \times 4''$ . Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: 94+i blank.

Number of lines: 8. Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: on f. 75 v. (= 139 v.): स्वित श्री संवत् १७४७ (= A.D. 1691) ना वर्षे मादुवा विद् । बुधे

Scribe: on f. 75 v. (= 139 v.): दीषत् सोमेश्चर: he seems to have taken great pains in copying the manuscript, for he remarks:

# (sic.) मपपृष्टिकटियीवावधमुष्टिर्धोमुखं ॥ कष्टेन सिखितं यन्वं यहिन परिपास्येत्॥

Place: on f. 75 v. (= 139 v.) (sic) ॥ श्री डाकामधे कवितंनिदं॥

Injuries: ff. 1-11 (= 65-75) are slightly defaced.

Peculiarity of spelling: it occasionally writes t as in Part I, e.g.

f. 1 v. (= 65 v.), line 1 दैवतं = दिवतं " " प्राधान्य॰ = प्राधान्य॰ " 3 ॰ भार्षपत्यम् = भार्षपत्यम्

Some of the figures for numbers are occasionally slightly different:  $8 = c_1$ ,  $q = v_1$ ,  $s = v_2$  f. 78 r. (= 137 r.), will is written as  $v_2$ ; f. 73 r. (= 137 r.), line 8: भोगास: = पंगास:

MS. Chandra Shum Shere, d. 180. C 5.

The text is made up of two manuscripts which are described separately.

MS. containing the pūrvārdha, A.D. 1758.

Contents: Chapters I-VI of the Nirukta in the shorter recension. The text is divided into pādas and sections. It agrees with C<sup>4</sup> in having

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six pādas in Chapter I. It is carelessly written, and full of mistakes. The text is bounded by double red lines up to f. 24, and by similar black lines, ff. 25-67. Ff. 55 v., 56 are defaced by disproportionate marginal notes. F. 57 is wrongly numbered 56 in the original. The first four lines on the top of f. 58 r. are to be crossed. Two geometrical figures are drawn on f. 1 r.

Size:  $8\frac{1}{4}$ "  $\times 4\frac{1}{4}$ ". Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: i+67. Number of lines: 7-14. Character: Devanāgarī.

Date: on f. 67 v. (sic) संवत् १८१४ गुर्वरि मीती चै इच वहि ८ मुक्के (= A. D. 1758).

Scribe: The name of the owner is added in a different handwriting on f. 67 v.: आ पोचि भागंगसरामसुत् नाचुराम नि के भुमं भवति (i.e. this book belongs to Nāthurāma, son of Bhāmangabarāma).

MS. containing the uttarardha with the parisista, dated A.D. 1479.

Contents: Chapters VII-XIII of the Nirukta in the shorter recension, written consecutively. The text is divided into pādas and Khandas, agreeing with C4 in the number of padas and Khandas, distributed in each chapter and  $p\bar{a}da$  respectively. The seven  $p\bar{a}das$  end on ff. 2 v. (=69 v.), 8 v. (=70 v.), 5 v. (=72 v.), 7 r. (=74 r.), 8 r. (=75 r.), 9 v.(=76 v.), 12 r. (=79 r.); the three pādas of Chapter VIII on ff. 13 r.  $(= 80 \text{ r.}), 16 \text{ r.} (= 88 \text{ r.}), 17 \text{ v.} (= 84 \text{ v.}); \text{ the four } p\bar{a}das \text{ of Chapter IX on}$ ff. 20 r. (= 87 r.), 22 r. (= 89 r.), 24 v. (= 91 v.), 26 r. (= 93 r.); the four  $p\bar{a}das$  of Chapter X on ff. 29 v. (= 96 v.), 31 v. (= 98 v.), 34 v. (= 101 v.), 86 v. (= 103 v.); the four pādas of Chapter XI on ff. 39 r. (= 106 r.), 41 r.  $(= 108 \text{ r.}), 43 \text{ v.} (= 110 \text{ v.}), 46 \text{ v.} (= 113 \text{ v.}); \text{ the four } p\bar{a}das \text{ of Chapter XII}$ on ff. 49 r. (= 116 r.), 51 r. (= 118 r.), 54 r. (= 121 r.), 56 v. (= 123 v.); the four  $p\bar{a}das$  of Chapter XIII on ff. 60 r. (= 127 r.), 67 r. (= 134 r.), 69 v. (= 136 v.), 71 v. (= 138 v.). The text is bounded on both sides by double black lines. The accent in Vedic stanzas is marked in red ink. Punctuation is similar to M 3. It is a very good manuscript, neat and accurate.

Size:  $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ . Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: 72+i blank.

Number of lines: 9. Character: Devanāgarī. Date: on f. 71 v. (= 138 v.): ॥ खिख संवत् १५३५ (= A. D. 1479) वर्षे मादुवा मुद्दि १९ ४वेह.

Scribe: on f. 71 v. (= 138 v.): पीतांबरेख निष्कं संपूर्णं विखितमिति ॥ मुनं ॥ The Colophon runs thus: (sic) त्रो चिखिताबारे महाराजाधिराय त्री मासविज्याके चार्कं चार्कं पासंतर्गायकातीय संसाट्रस्थाति महायाच्य त्री त्री गंकरपुत याच्य त्री प्रयावदासस्तः या॰ सह चानध्ययगार्थं पीतांबरेख &c. The name of the owner is given on f. 72 r. (= 189 r): याच्य त्री प्रयावदासस्तः याच्य त्री सङ्घानि पोचि ॥ Rites and sacrifices performed by the owner at various places of pilgrimages like Kurukṣetra, Benares, &c., are enumerated on f. 72 r. (= 189 r.).

Peculiarity of spelling: स is always written as ज, ए is written as ।/, .g. वर्षे = वार्ष on f. 71 v., line 6.

ची is written as ।/ची, e.g.

$$f. 5 r. (= 72 r.), line 6: वेखीपमिकम् = ावाखोपमिकम्$$

त in conjunction with य is written as a short vertical stroke, and with स or च as a horizontal stroke, e.g.

▼ is written variously as ₹ or ₹ or ₹.

Injuries: ff. 9 (= 76), 10 (= 77), 19 (= 86), 29 (= 96) are slightly injured.

## MS. Chandra Shum Shere, e. 61. C 6.

Contents: The Nirukta of Yāska in the longer recension. It consists of three manuscripts; the first contains Chapters I-V in 86 leaves (86 v. gives a part of the first section of Chapter VI); the second, Chapter VI in

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27 leaves (numbered in the original as 47-78 = 87-113); the third, Chapters VII-XIV, in 78 leaves (= 114-191). The division of the text into Chapters ( $adhy\bar{a}ya$ ) and sections (Khandas), the punctuation, and the method of marking the accent in Vedic stanzas are identical with M 4. The text is bounded by double red lines only occasionally. F. 3 is replaced by a leaf in a later handwriting. Ff. 87-92 are written on blue paper. A summary similar to M 4 is added at the end of each chapter.

Size:  $8\frac{1}{4}$  × 4" (ff. 1-86) and  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ×  $3\frac{3}{4}$  (ff. 87-113),  $7\frac{1}{4}$  ×  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " (ff. 114-191).

Material: Paper.

Character: Devanāgarī.

Number of leaves: i+191+i blank.

Number of lines: 7 (ff. 1-113), 7-10 (ff. 114-191).

Date and Scribe: Not known.

The name of the owner is added on f. 114 r.: ॥ इइं पुसाकं वटवृषवीरेश्वर-मट्टिसेटं पुसाकं योगीश्वर्धे नमः॥

#### MS. Chandra Shum Shere, d. 183. C7.

Contents: The uttarārdha of the Nirukta, Chapters VII-XI, and sections 1-27 of Chapter XII in the shorter recension. The text is bounded by treble black lines on both sides, and is divided into  $p\bar{a}das$  and Khaṇḍas. The numbering of sections does not begin anew in each  $p\bar{a}da$ , but is consecutive for the whole chapter, and agrees with the manuscripts of the longer recension. It looks old; the ink is totally effaced in several parts, which makes it difficult to read; but it is not really old, for it does not display any characteristics of old writing. It is full of mistakes. Three lines are added at the bottom on f. 13 v., 52 v. Marginal notes are occasionally written.

Size:  $9\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times$   $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". Material: Paper.

Number of leaves: i+58+i blank.

Number of lines per folio: 7.

Character: Devanāgarī.

Date and Scribe: Not known, for the last leaves are missing.

Peculiarity of spelling: त is occasionally written as a short horizontal stroke in conjunction. F. 1 v., line 1; •स्तीनां = •स्तीनां, f. 1 v., line 2: स्तिं = स्तिं म is doubled in conjunction with र, e.g. सर्भ = कर्म. F. 58 v. is torn in two.

#### MS. Wilson 488. W 1.

### Yāska's Nirukta, A.D. 1768.

This is described in detail by Keith in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol. ii, p. 107. His description may be supplemented by the following: the Colophon on f. 79 v. runs thus: (sic)

मंगसं सेखकाणां च पाठकाणां च मंगसं। मंगसं सर्वजंतुणां मंगसं सर्वमंगसं ॥ यादृग्रं पुत्तकं दृष्टा तादृग्रं सिखितं मया यदि मुखममुदं वा मम दोषो ण दीयतां॥२॥

Two more verses are added in a different hand, one being a slight modification of a verse from the *Pañcatantra*. The *pūrvārdha* and the *uttarārdha* are written in different hands.

Peculiarity of spelling:  $\P$  and  $\P$  are occasionally doubled in conjunction with  $\P$ , e. g.

Number of lines per folio: 7 (ff. 1-21), 9 (ff. 22-79), 7 (ff. 80-162), 8 (ff. 163-183).

Injuries: Ff. 53-63 are slightly injured by worms on the left marginal top.

#### MS. Wilson 491. W 2.

This manuscript is described in detail by Keith in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. ii, p. 106. His description may be supplemented as follows:

Peculiarity of spelling: It writes was was

Number of lines per folio: 8 (ff. 1-61), 9 (ff. 62-78), 8 (ff. 79-91), 9 (ff. 92-101), it varies from 10-11 (ff. 102-130).

F. 104 is upside down. The size of leaves (ff. 79-86) is:  $8\frac{3}{4}$ "  $\times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ". Ff. 79-130 are written in a handwriting different from that of the previous folios.

#### MS. Wilson 474. W 8.

This is described in detail by Keith in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. ii, p. 107. His description may be supplemented by the following:

Peculiarity of spelling: ए is occasionally written as 1/, e.g. f. 2 r. line 2: रेश = रेश ; स्ट्री = स्थात; पवत = पवात; f. 2 r., line 8; रंड्रेस॰ = रंड्स; वेविषासा = विविधासा.

के is written as 1/ए, e.g. इंद्रेकीते = इंद्रिकीते.

भी " " ।/।, " रंड्रो = रांड्रा; तृत्सवी = तृत्सावा.

But its chief peculiarity is that it frequently doubles consonants in conjunction, e.g. f. 2 r., line 2: पृषिद्धा, व is doubled, रहद्भ, व is doubled; तृत्सावा, त is doubled; line 4: विद्धान, भ is doubled; line 5: वीकांबि, व is doubled; wवोचम, प is doubled; line 6: प्राचयक for प्रवच ; line 7: सर्ब, व is doubled; f. 2 v., line 2: विद्व्यद्विशंसत for विद्व्यदिशंसत, f. 3 r., line 1: च्यापश, व is doubled; line 6: वहुवाम, इ is doubled, चाच्चेष, च is doubled; f. 4 r., line 1: ामाजास्वद्रम्मपुष्किर्योवावश्यमित for मोजसेदम्मुष्किर्योव विश्लीत, and so on.

#### MS. Mill 144. Mi.

## Copied at Ahmedabad, A. D. 1730.

This is described in detail by Keith in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. ii, p. 106. It occasionally doubles  $\pi$  in conjunction with other consonants, e.g. f. 2 r., line 8: प्रतिषेध-स्थानिक स्थान कर्

The numbering of sections does not begin anew in each  $p\bar{a}da$ , but is continuous, and agrees with the longer recension as to the total number of sections in Chapters IX-XII. It belongs to the shorter recension.

## MS. Sanskrit, e. 17. S.

#### A. D. 1781.

This is described in detail by Keith in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, vol. ii, p. 105. The text is punctuated as usual, and divided into chapters and sections. A summary similar to the one described on p. 1 is added at the end of each chapter. It belongs to the longer recension. The text is bounded on both sides by two sets of double red lines. It is a neat and accurate manuscript.

#### The Relationship of the MSS.: two recensions.

The manuscripts fall into two groups, and for the sake of convenience and brevity, may be called A and B-A representing the longer and B the shorter recension. None of the manuscripts grouped in these two families is earlier than A.D. 1479. Although they have been copied from earlier manuscripts—often with great labour and trouble as some of the scribes remark neither of them transmits the text of the Nirukta in an uninterpolated state. Both recensions add the parisista—which can be proved to be an interpolation by independent testimony—as an integral part of the text, and cannot, therefore, be the faithful representatives of the archetype. Moreover, both have besides the parisista, an entire section or the equivalent of a section added on to them. These additions are meaningless. The commentary on the Vedic stanzas quoted therein is very poor, and written in a style quite different from that of Yaska. For instance, there can hardly be any doubt as to the interpolated character of ix. 2, which is given as a constituent part of the text by the manuscripts of both recensions. Further, the commentary on the Vedic stanza in xi. 7 is meaningless and written in a different style. The Vedic stanza, being quite easy, requires no explanation. Yaska generally does not comment on easy Vedic stanzas, simply remarking: iti sā nigada-vyākhyātā<sup>1</sup>, i.e. 'this stanza is explained by the mere reading'. In all such cases, this note of Yaska comes after easy Vedic stanzas only. It would thus be intelligible, if it had followed immediately the Vedic stanzas in xi. 7. But as the text now stands, it is placed just after a very difficult Vedic stanza in xi. 8. This is contrary to Yāska's method. It is clear that the words: iti sā nigada-vyākhyātā were originally placed immediately after the Vedic stanzas in xi. 7. The intervening passage is an interpolation, and rather a clumsy one, for it can be easily detected. This is further proved by the fact that Durga, who repeats every word of Yāska in his commentary, ignores them. How these additions gradually find their way into the text is illustrated by the following example. There is an easy quotation in xii. 2, and Yāska, as usual, simply adds: iti sā nigada-vyākhyātā. Some interpolators have endeavoured to add after these words a short comment. Thus some manuscripts here subjoin the following remark: वसातिषु सा चर्चो वसातयो रातयो वसने ..... सुरातयोः ॥

Further, each recension contains passages, which, being superfluous, are omitted by the other, or are amplified versions of those in the other. For example, B adds, between vii. 19 and 20, one entire section, which is omitted by A. It is clearly an interpolation as the commentary on the Vedic stanzas is identical with that of xiv. 33 with slight alterations.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N. x. 18, 24; xi. 8, 45; xii. 81.



Again, in B the commentary on the Vedic stanza quoted in v. 27, reads as follows: सुदेवस्यं वस्त्राग्यदानी यस्त्र तव देव सप्त सिंधवः प्राकाशानुषर्का वाकुदं सूर्य्यं सुषिरामिवेखपि निगमो भवति ॥ २०॥

A's version of this is greatly amplified:

सुदेवस्वं बच्चावदेवः वमनीयदेवो वा मवसि वद्या यख ते सप्त सिंधवः सिन्धु स्ववणायस्य ते सप्त स्रोतांसि तानि ते बाकुद्मनुचरन्ति । सूर्मिः बच्चावोर्मिः स्रोतः सुविरमनु यथा । वीरिटं तैटीविरनरिचमेवमाह पूर्वं वयतदत्तरिमरतेर्वयांसीरन्ति-सिम्भांसि वा। तदेतस्यामृख्दाहर्न्यपि निगमो भवति ॥ २०॥

Further, A contains a long passage in 6.5: इक् स्वधीन्यप्रक .... व्याखाताः omitted by B.

#### d. 'Omissio ex homoeoteleuto' in Sanskrit Manuscripts.

It is clear, therefore, that both the recensions cannot faithfully represent the archetype. Hence the question arises which of them adheres more closely to the original? Roth adopted the text as given by the longer recension in his edition, without, however, assigning adequate reasons for his preference. The same text is also adopted by most of the editors of the Nirukta. This text, as has been shown above, does not represent the original. It is true that often the longer recension preserves the better text, for sometimes passages are omitted by accident. The eye of the scribe wanders from a particular word to the same or to a similar word, occurring further on in the text, with the result that the intervening words are omitted. This phenomenon known as omissio ex homoeoteleuto is universal and of very frequent occurrence. The following example illustrates this kind of omission. In copying the lines: 'The book, which is rather scarce, was till very lately of absolute necessity for the Student of the Christian hymnology, above all for the Student of Adam of St. Victor's hymns', the eye of the copyist wandered from the student of the first to the same word in the second line and the words 'of the Christian . . . . for the' were left out. The same thing happened to the scribe of MS. C 3. In copying the sentence: सोईवानस्वत तत्सुराणां सुरलम् । चसोरसुरान-क्वत तद्युराणामसुर्वमिति विश्वायते his eye wandered from the word शक्वत in the first line to the same word in the second line, with the result that the words तत्सुरावां सुरत्वम्। असोरसुरान् were left out.

Again, in copying N. vi. 22: खूरं राधः शताश्चं कुष्कुख दिविष्टिषु । RV. VIII. 4.19. खूरः समाजितमाची महान्मवित । the eye of the scribe wandered from the खूरं of the first line to the similar word खूरः in the second line.

<sup>1</sup> Clark, Descent of Manuscripts, p. 1.

consequently the intervening words राध: भ्रतामं . . . . दिविष्टिषु were omitted in MS. C 3.

#### e. Dittography in Sanskrit Manuscripts.

On the other hand, there is also the phenomenon called dittography, i.e. the repetition or addition of a few words or sentences. An excellent example of dittography is furnished by *The Globe* on July 9, 1915.

'The Echo de Paris publishes a message from Cettinje announcing the message from Cettinje announcing the appointment as Governor of Scutari of Bojo Petrovitch.' The part of the second line is a verbatim repetition of a part of the first line.

In N. ii. 28, उत स्त वाजी चिपणिं तुरस्थित ग्रीवायां बन्धी चिप ... कतुं इधिकाः .....

स्थिता आसनीति व्याख्यातम् । कतुं वाजी चिपणिं तुर्व्यति योवायां बडी द्धिकाः.... the eye of the scribe wandered by chance after कतुं to the Vedic stanza, and he mechanically copies the whole of the first line except उत स्थ in MS. C 5.

Again, in N. vi. 8, the scribe of the MS. Mi. repeats गुकातिकमा वा.

Further there are some passages whose omission by B is absolutely unjustifiable. Yāska explains every word occurring in the fourth chapter of the Nighantu. The omission of the passages containing the explanation of any of these words is therefore inconsistent with Yāska's plan. Examples of such omissions are the following. Yāska explains निम्मा: (Ngh. 4. 3. 12) in N. vi. 3, but the passage: निम्मा निम्मारिय: is omitted by B. Again, Yāska explains जोगस (Ngh. 4. 3. 28) in N. vi. 6 as जोगस प्राचित्र, which is omitted by B. This omission makes the following Vedic quotation meaningless.

Further, in commenting upon a Vedic stanza, Yāska always starts from the very beginning of the stanza. To leave out the first few words and to

1 Clark, op. cit., p. 6.



begin from somewhere in the middle of the stanza is altogether foreign to his practice, yet if the text of B be followed, the omission of the passage: यविमव वृद्धवासिको निवको (N. vi. 26) would involve Yāska in an inconsistency. All this shows that B is not absolutely reliable.

Now let us examine A. The majority of the manuscripts of A belong to a period later than those of B. Thus, not one of them has preserved the old spelling, while most of the B MSS. retain this peculiarity, i.e.

of writing ए as |/ as वार्ष for वर्षे " ऐ " |/ए " विक्रा " विक्रा " जो " |/। " वांचा " चयो " क for ढ " वोक्कार: " वोढार:

Again, some of the A MSS. divide the parisista into the so-called thirteenth and the fourteenth chapters, while those of B put the whole of the parisista into one chapter only, which is numbered the thirteenth.

It has already been pointed out that A contains an obvious interpolation in N. vi. 5, and an amplified version of B's comment in N. v. 27. Besides these there are shorter passages scattered throughout the book which are omitted by B and are suspected to be interpolations. One very fertile and insidious source of interpolations is supplied by Yāska's own method of giving etymological explanations. He does not content himself with one derivation, but goes on adding derivation after derivation of a single word till the whole list of probable, possible, and even fanciful etymologies is exhausted. In many cases, interpolators found it quite easy to add new derivations and attribute them to Yāska. A contains a considerable number of such additions, while B has only two.

The following are a few samples:

N. ii. 6. A reads: वृषो त्रसनात्। वृत्ता षां तिष्ठतीति वा। षा विद्यतिर्निवा-सकर्मग्रः। निद्यतामीमदार . . . .

B reads: वृषो व्रचनात्। नियतामीमयत् . . . .

The two derivations are omitted.

N. ii. 10. A reads: हिर्स क्यात्... हितरमशं मवतीति वा इट्यरमशं मवतीति वा।

B reads: हिर्सं बसात् . . . . हितरमशं मवतीति वा।

N. ii. 13. A reads: सूर्यमाहितयमहित: पुषमेवम्।

B reads: सूर्यमादितियमेवम्।

N. ii. 20. A reads: शामिनाने श्रामिन्दाने श्रवीव्यक्षाध्यातां कुर्वावे।

B reads: शामिनाने श्रवीव्यक्षाध्यातां कुर्वासे।

N. ii. 22. A reads: प्रथम इति मुख्यनाम प्रतमी भवति । क्रनायमनारियम्। विकर्तनं मेघानां विकर्तनेन मेघानामुद्दं वायते ।

B reads: प्रथम र्ति मुख्यनाम प्रतमो भवति। विकर्तनेन मेघानामुद्धं जायते। N. iii. 8. A reads: प्रयमामिन्दो भवन्तीति वायनासिन्दो भवन्तीति वायनासिन्दो भवन्तीति वायनारिन्दो भवन्ति । . . . .

B reads: श्वामामिन्द्रो भवनीति वाद्यमासिन्द्रो भवनीति वाद्यकारिस्त्रो भवनीति वाङ्कना भवनि . . . .

N. iii. 10. A reads: भासण्डयित:। सण्डं सण्डयतेः तण्डिंद्रविनाववधयोः . . . . B reads: भासण्डयित:। तण्डिंद्रविनाववधयोः . . . .

N. iii. 15. A reads: की वां श्रयने विधवेव देवरम्। देवरं कस्माद् द्वितीयो वर उच्चति। विधवा विधातका भवति।

B reads: को वां भ्रयंगे विश्ववेद देवरम्। विश्ववा विश्वातृका भवति। In this particular case it is obvious that the passage देवरं कसात्, &c., is an interpolation, for as the words stand in the first line, Yāska would naturally give the etymological explanation of विश्ववा first and then of देवर, not vice versā. As a matter of fact he does so; after explaining विश्ववा he says: देवरो दोवतिकमा. This would have been absurd if the reading of A represents the original.

N. iii. 16. A reads: त्राह्मणा र्व वृषका र्वेति। वृषकी वृषशीको भवति वृषा-श्रीको वा ॥ १६॥

B reads: त्राह्मणा र्व वृषका र्वेति ॥ १६॥

N. iii. 19. A reads: निर्वीतानाईत . . . घट । निर्वीतं वसात् । निर्वितं भवति ।

B reads: निर्वीतान्तर्हित . . . . षट्।

N. iv. 2. A reads: मर्चादा . . . . स्वात् । मर्चादा मर्चेरादीयते । मर्चादा मर्चेरिको विभागः ।

B reads: मर्यादा . . . . स्वात्। मर्यादा मर्यादिनो विभागः।

N. iv. 10. A reads: सद्भी सीमादा सदयादा सप्यानादा साञ्चनादा . . .

B reads: सद्मी सीमादा सद्यादा साञ्छ्गादा . . .

N. iv. 13. A reads: ईर्मानाः समीरितानाः सुसमीरितानाः पृथ्वना वा।

B reads: ईमीनाः समीरितानाः पृथ्वना वा।

N. iv. 15. A reads: कवा कमनीया मवति। क्षेत्रं नेतविति वा। कमनेनानीयत इति वा। कनते वी।

B reads: क्या कमनीया मवति । क्षेत्रं नेतव्येति वा । कनतेवा ।

N. iv. 19. A reads: उद्वं हर उच्चते। सोका हरांखुच्चने। सदगहनी हरसी चच्चेते।

B reads: उद्वं हर उच्चते। सोका हरांखुच्चके।

N. v. 3. A reads: पानिरिति वा सामनिरिति वा सामनिरिति वा सामनिरिति वा।

B reads: पानैरिति वा साधनैरिति वा।

N. v. 12. A reads: तुप्रप्रहारी विप्रप्रहारी स्प्रप्रहारी।

B reads: तुप्रप्रहारी।

N. v. 26. A reads: जिड्डा कोकुवा। कोकूयमाना वर्षातुद्तीति वा। कोकूयते वी स्त्राच्छन्दकर्मणः।

B reads: विद्वा कोकुवा। कोकुवमांना वर्षातुद्तीति वा।

N. vi. 8. A reads: जिगति निर्तिकर्मा वा गृकातिकर्मा वा गृकातिकर्मा वा।

B reads: जिनति गिरतिकर्मा वा गृक्कातिकर्मा वा

N. vi. 16. A reads: श्वमवत सर्वेऽयगमनेनेति वायगर्खेनेति वायसंपादिन इति वा।

B reads: श्रमवत सर्वे । यगमनेनेति वायसंपादिन इति वा।

N. vi. 33. A reads: श्रीर्थते विदे। विद्यमनिर्वम्। विदं वीरिटेन बाब्बातम्।

B reads: शीर्थते बिठे। बिठं बीरिटेन खाखातम्।

N. vi. 32. A reads: बुन्द र्युर्भवित बिन्दो वा भिन्दो वा भयदो वा . . .

B reads: बुन्द र्पुर्भवित मिन्दी वा मयदी वा . . .

N. vi. 33. A reads: ऋडूपे ऋईनपातिनी नमनपातिनी श्रव्हपातिनी दूरपातिनी वा मर्भव्यर्दनविधिनी गमनविधिनी श्रव्हविधिनी दूरविधिनी वा।

B reads: खुदूपे चर्तनपातिनी नमनपातिनी वा मर्भखर्दनविधिनी नमनवे-धिनी वा।

Instances might be multiplied, but the above examples suffice to show that A has been much more tampered with than B.

Fortunately, as has been said above, Durga repeats every word of the Nirukta in his commentary, so that the text of the Nirukta in toto' can be reproduced from his commentary alone. This commentary therefore serves the purpose of a manuscript of the Nirukta and supplies valuable information about the condition of the text in its author's time. Durga does not recognize the parisista as an integral part of the Nirukta, as in fact he is even unaware of its existence. Thus his commentary preserves the text of the Nirukta as current before the addition of the parisista. Further, it derives great value from the fact that Durga displays critical judgement in the adoption of readings in the text, while giving variants and adding critical notes on them. For example, in N. i. 2, he reads

gives युगपत् as a variant, adding: युगपदुत्पज्ञानामयुगपदुत्पज्ञानामित्वुभाविप पाडौ बाहारं प्राप्ततः।

Again, in N. i. 12, he reads संविद्यातानि but gives संविद्यानानि as a variant, adding खच्चा संविद्यानानि तानि संविद्यातानि तानि चेत्नुमावधितौ पाठौ।

Again, in N. iii. 15, he remarks: चपि न य इत्यस्य निघस्तुसूचस्य दुर्मदासी न सुरायामित्वनेनेव गतार्थतित मन्यमानाः केचिद्च निगमं नाधीयते । चपरे पुनः समासायानुक्रमोऽयमिति मन्यमाना एवमेवं निगममधीयते ।

Again, in N. iii. 21, he reads चिनाश्च but gives चिनाश्च as a variant, adding: चन्चे लधीयते चिनाश्च नामेति। तेषामविनाश्चित नाम।

Again, in N. iv. 19, he reads खु: but gives चसन् as a variant, adding: माचेऽपि खुरिलेष: पाठ:। (sic) चसनितेष: प्रमादपाठ:।

Again, in N. vi. 2, he remarks: निर्ते गा इता केचित्पशुग्य एता इति वाचचते।

Again, in N. vi. 4, he reads चवनायात्रम् but gives चवनेनात्रम् and चनेनात्रम् as variants.

Again, in N. vi. 6, he reads चयगस but gives चीगस as a variant, adding: चीगस्त्रिवनेके मन्यके। तत्पुनरनुपपन्नम्। चयगस्रिति हि भाषकारी निराह।

Again, on N. vi. 21, he remarks: ऋझतिः प्रसाधनकर्मा। माऋवीक इखनेन गतार्थतामस्त्र मन्यमानो भाष्यकारो नियमं नाधीते। केचिन्त्रपैतं ग्रेषमधीयते। दूतं वो विश्ववेदसं . . . . 3. 5. 8. 1.

Again, on N. vi. 33, he remarks: माध्यमच न सम्यगिव सस्ति। तस्य सम्यक् पाठो ४ न्वेष्टः। ततो योज्यम्।

This shows that Durga took pains to ascertain the correct readings and has handed down a sort of critical edition of the *Nirukta*, as it existed in his time.

#### f. 1. Three stages of interpolations.

We have thus manuscript materials which belong to three distinct periods.

- (1) D, i.e. the commentary of Durga, written before the edition of the parisistas and embodying the whole text of the Nirukta, represents the earliest period, i.e. about the thirteenth century A.D.
- (2) B, i.e. the manuscripts of the shorter recension represent a period later than D,—when the parisistas were added, but not divided as yet into different chapters, and when the old orthography was still prevalent.



(3) A, i.e. the manuscript of the longer recension, represents a still later period when the *parisistas* had been divided into chapters and the old orthography had gone out of use.

A collation of these three different recensions indicates that three distinct stages of interpolations in the *Nirukta* can be clearly traced. For example, let us take a passage in N. i. 4. On collating D, B, and A, we find that the reading of D has been expanded in B, and that of B in A.

N. i. 4. D reads: श्राचार्यसिद्दं त्र्यादित पूजायाम्। दिश्विचिद्तिषुपमार्थे। कुल्माशंसिदाइरेख्यकृतिति। नु इत्रेशे . . . .

B reads: चाचार्यसिद्दं त्रूयादिति पूजावाम्। चाचार्य चाचारं ग्राहयता-चिनोत्वर्षानाचिनोति नुदिमिति वा। दिधिचिदित्नुपमार्थे। कुरुमायांसिदाहरेत्ववकुत्तिते। कुरुमावाः कुसेषु सीदिना। नु रुत्वेषो . . . .

A reads: जाचार्यसिदिदं नूचादिति पूजायाम् । जाचार्य ससात् । जाचार्य समात् । जाचार्य जाचारं याद्यताचिनोत्वर्यानाचिनोति वुद्धिमिति वा । द्धिचिदित्नुपमार्थे । कुरुमावां-सिदाहरेत्ववकृतिते । कुरुमावाः कुसेषु सीदिना । नु र्तियो . . . .

Another example for these three stages is suppled by N. ix. 2, as follows:

D reads:

सन्तो वास्त्रातः। तस्तिषा भवति ॥१॥ मा षो मिषो वस्त्रो सर्यमायुरिक्ट्र . . . .

B reads:

षास्रो वास्त्रातः। तसीषा भवति ॥१॥ षास्रो वोद्धाः सुसं . . . . . इन्द्राचिन्द्रो परि स्रव ॥

श्वयो वोद्धा सुखं वोद्धा । सुखमिति वस्त्रावगाम । वस्त्रावं पुसं सुहितं भवति । मानो व्यास्त्रातः । तस्त्रिवा भवति ॥२॥

मा नो मिचो वर्षो चर्यमायुरिक्ट . . . .

A reads:

षञ्चो वाखातः। तस्त्रेषा भवति ॥ १॥ षञ्चो वोद्धाः सुस्रं . . . . . स्कृथिन्दो परि स्रव ॥

श्वा वोद्धा सुखं वोद्धा एवं वोद्धा । सुखमिति क्षावनाम । क्षावं पुकं सुद्दितं भवति । सुद्दितं मन्यतीति वा । इसिता वा पाता वा पावयिता वा । श्रेपमृच्छ-तीति । वारि वार्यति । मानो व्याखातः । तस्त्रीवा मवति ॥ २॥

मा नो मिची वद्य चर्यमायुरिक्र ....

It has been shown above that the list of etymologies increases as one passes from the text of B to that of A. In the same manner the list of etymologies increases in B as compared with D. The following are some examples.

N. i. 4. D reads: कुल्यावां बिहा हरे त्ववकृतिसते। नु इत्वेषी: . . . .

B reads: कुलामांचिदाहरेत्ववकुत्सिते । कुलामाः कुचेषु सीदन्ति । नु इत्वे-मो . . . .

D reads: वयाः शासा वेते:। शासाः सशयाः।

B reads: वयाः शासा वेते वीतायना भवन्ति। शासाः स्थायाः श्रत्नोते वी।

N. i. 7. D reads: नृहद्देम स्व वेदने। नृहद्दित महतो नामधेयम्।

B reads: बृहद्देम खे वेदने। मनो भवते:। बृहद्ति महतोनामधेयम्।

N. ii. 22. D reads: नृत्वमिखुद्वनाम . . . शब्दवर्मणी अंशते वी ॥ २२ ॥

B reads: वृत्कामिस्युद्कानाम · · · ग्रब्दकर्मणो अंग्रते वी । पुरीषं पृकातेः पूर्वते वी ॥ २२ ॥

N. ii. 26. D reads:

तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम चर्वीः। प्रसाद्यायानातः चामुखवः॥२६॥

B reads: तस्त्र वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वी:।

उर्व अवीति वृंबोतिरित्वौर्ववामः।

प्रताब्बायानत मानुमुवः ॥ २६॥

N. iii. 18. D reads: सिंह: सहनात्। संपूर्वस्य वा हनीः संहाय हनीति वा।

B reads: सिंहः सहनात्। हिंसे वी खाद् विपरीतस्तः। संपूर्वस्त वा हनीः संहाय हनीति वा।

N. v. 4. D reads: श्र्या चकुसयो अवन्ति। श्र्या र्ववः श्र्मवः।

B reads: श्र्या पङ्गाची भविता। खजनित क्रमीणि। श्र्या इववः श्रमाखः।

N. v. 23. D reads:

उद्याको चवायतः समस्रात्। इति पंचम्याम् ॥ २३॥

B reads: उर्घाको स्थायतः समस्रात ।

इति पंचन्याम् । उच्छतिरवर्मकः ।

श्रवापि प्रथमान् इवचने।

नमनामन्यके समे ॥ २३॥

MS. C 1 agrees with B except that the last line नमनामन्बन समे is omitted.

N. vi. 3. D reads:

उदर रचः सहमूसमिन्द्र । वृचमध्यम् । प्रतिमृणीद्वायम् ।

B reads:

उद्धर् र्षः सहमूसमिन्द्र ।

मूखं मोचनाद्वा मोचबादा मोहनादा । वृष्यमध्यम् । प्रतिशृषीद्वायम् ।

N. vi. 8. D reads: देवी देवाम्प्रस्तात्या क्रपा विश्वतया ॥ ८॥

B reads: देवी देवान्प्रस्काया क्रपा। क्रपा क्रमुतेवी क्रयतेवी ॥ प्र

N. vi. 24. D reads: गण्दा धमनयो भविता।

A reads: मस्दा धमनयो मवन्ति। मननमासु धीयते।

B omits it altogether.

N. vi. 28. D reads: श्रम्था वित्त . . . . वासीव युक्तं सिनुत्रेव वृषम्।

B reads: चन्ना विच . . . . कचीव युक्तं चिनुचेव वृचम् । चिनुचा व्रतिर्मवित बीयते विभवनीति । व्रतिविर्वाश स्थाश तत्वाश ।

#### f. 2. Parallel instance of Servius, commentator of Virgil.

Thus the stages of interpolation at different periods can be traced. The principle of the 'best MSS.' is obviously inapplicable in this case, for none of the manuscripts can be called the best. All that is available is the best manuscript of each family, and the best plan, under the circumstances, would be to place all the three families side by side. Fortunately it is possible to do so, for the successive interpolations from one family to another are invariably the amplifications of the text of a shorter recension, and are thrust between sentences wherever the text could be so enlarged with impunity, as, for instance, in multiplying the number of etymologies and attributing them all to Yāska. I have, however, distinguished the evidence of Durga's commentary from that of the manuscripts of the Nirukta, although Durga's commentary is very important for supplying such valuable evidence for the history of the text of the Nirukta, it cannot, strictly speaking, be called a manuscript of the Nirukta. The relation of the shorter to the longer recension is shown by the use of square brackets, which contain the additional passages of the longer recension, while the relation of the shorter recension to the text preserved by Durga is indicated by foot-notes. An analogous example is furnished by Latin literature. The text of Servius, commentator of Virgil, shows a similar threefold amplification, the three stages of interpolation being pointed out by Thilo in his edition. I think the text of the *Nirukta* reproduced from Durga represents the archetype as closely as it is possible to restore it with the help of the present materials. I have collated is ixteen manuscripts myself, besides taking into account fourteen manuscripts collated by Roth, and eight by the editor of the *Nirukta* in Bib. Ind. Thus, directly and indirectly, the evidence of about forty manuscripts has been available for this edition, and the text may therefore be regarded as more or less settled.

#### g. Commentators of Yāska.

Although, from an early period, Yāska's work has been recognized as one of the most important vedāngas by the orthodox tradition of literary India, he, unlike Pāṇini, has not had many commentators. This does not mean that he had few followers or that his speculations did not dominate the thought of succeeding generations. On the contrary, he has been acknowledged to be the pre-eminent authority on etymology. Hence (at first sight) it seems rather inexplicable that his work should have been commented upon by so few people. One reason of this paucity is that Yāska's work itself is a commentary and not an independent treatise, hence it did not stand in need of much elucidation. Secondly, it is written in classical Sanskrit prose, and, notwithstanding its somewhat archaic and terse style, is easily intelligible to the reader as compared, for instance, with the aphorisms of Pāṇini; consequently there was not much demand for further comment. Yet three commentators, at least, are known to have elucidated Yāska's work.

- (1) Ugra is mentioned as a commentator on the Nirukta by Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum.<sup>2</sup> But no other information, about his personality, the character of his work, and the time when he lived, is available. No reference is made to him by any of the other writers in the same field.
- (2) The second commentator is Skandasvāmi, mentioned by Devarājayajvan.<sup>3</sup> A manuscript of his work exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>4</sup> and a friend of mine from Lahore has recently informed me that he has obtained a complete manuscript of his commentary.
- <sup>1</sup> Since then, on my visit to Paris, I have been able, through the courtesy of Professor Sylvain Lévi, to examine the Nirukta manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Nos. 257-64, described by Cabaton in the Catalogue sommaire des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Pāli, pp. 39-40. All of them, except the first collated by Roth, belong to the nineteenth century. They

all represent the text of the longer recension, and do not afford any other variants. The contents of Nos. 263 and 264 is Durga's commentary, which comes to an end with the twelfth chapter.

- <sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 297.
- <sup>3</sup> See Bib. Ind. ed., vol. i, pp. 2-4.
- 4 Loc. cit. (Aufrecht).

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(3) But the most important of all these commentators is Durga. He seems to be later than Devarājayajvan who is familiar with the then extant commentaries on the Vedas, the Nighantu, and the Nirukta, and who does not mention Durga in the long list of the authorities used by him for the purpose of his own work. Although a conclusion based on the argument of silence is not cogent, yet in this particular case, it is justified to assume that Durga is not referred to because he was posterior to Devarāja, hence Durga would also be later than Skandasvāmī. Durga's commentary is published, and has superseded the works of his predecessors. His work is important for two reasons: (1) he is the last of the commentators, and therefore represents the fullest development of the traditional interpretation of the Nirukta; (2) the very fact that it has survived at the cost of earlier commentaries indicates its importance. We shall therefore examine his work somewhat in detail.

#### Date of Durga.

It has already been pointed out that in all probability he is later than Devarājayajvan, though this assumption hardly helps us, for the date of Devarāja himself is not known. However, Durga's lower limit can be determined almost with certainty. A manuscript 1 of his commentary in the Bodleian Library is dated 1387 A.D. The date is genuine and is accepted as such by Professor A. B. Keith.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript was copied at Bhrgu Ketra in the reign of Mahārāṇā—Durgasimhavijaya. Thus he could not be later than 1387 A.D. It is difficult to identify any particular site with Bhrgu Kṣetra, but probably it was situated somewhere between the Sarasvatī and the Jamna. As Durga wrote his commentary in a hermitage near Jammu, a place not easily accessible in the absence of modern means of communication, the migration of the MS. of his commentary to Bhrgu Keetra presupposes the lapse of sufficient time in order to account for the spreading of his fame as a commentator from the isolated heights of Jammu to the plains of Bhrgu Ksetra. It will not be far from the truth, therefore, to place Durga about the thirteenth century A. D.

Durga does not speak of any predecessors by name nor does he leave any clue as to the sources of his own commentary. Unlike Devarāja-yajvan, he does not give the slightest information about himself or the general state of the *Nirukta* during his time. That he wrote his commentary in a hermitage near Jammu is proved by the colophon<sup>3</sup> on f. 132 v. at the end of the eleventh chapter of the *Nirukta*, which runs as follows:

Bodleian Library, vol. ii, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> MS. Wilson 475.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MS. Wilson 475.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the

खायख चतुर्थः पादः समाप्तः। This shows that the full name of the commentator was Durgasimha. The fact that he lived in a hermitage and was addressed as bhagavat indicates that he was an ascetic and belonged to some particular order of Sannyāsa. Further, he is a descendant of the family of the Vasiṣṭhas. He does not explain the stanza RV. III. 53. 23, quoted by Yāska to illustrate the meaning of the word lodham, because the stanza implies hostility to Vasiṣṭha. He says: यखिन्नम एव ग्रव्हः सा विश्वदेषियो सन् । यहं च कापिष्ठको वासिष्ठः। यतसां च निर्वविमि । 'The stanza, in which this word (lodham) occurs is hostile to Vasiṣṭha. And I am a descendant of Vasiṣṭha, belonging to the Kapiṣṭhala branch, hence I do not explain the stanza.' 2

Sāyaṇa has the following note on it: पुरा खबु विश्वामिनशिष्टः सुदानाम राजर्षिरासीत् । स च केनचित् कार्सन वसिष्ठदेखोऽभूत् । विश्वामिनसु शिष्यस्व रचार्थमामिर्म्करिमर्वसिष्ठमश्चपत्। इम चिम्नशिष्टमश्चाः। ता स्वची वसिष्ठा न मृख्वित ।

'There was formerly a royal sage named Sudās, a disciple of Viśvāmitra. Somehow, he became an object of Vasiṣṭha's hatred. Then, Viśvāmitra, in order to protect his disciple, reviled Vasiṣṭha with these stanzas. These are the imprecatory stanzas. The Vasiṣṭhas do not pay any attention (lit. listen) to them.' This corroborates Yāska's statement that there are stanzas which contain asseveration and imprecation only.

Durga's commentary is important for it repeats every word of Yāska, thus the text of the Nirukta 'in toto' could be reproduced from Durga's work alone. As none of the manuscripts collated by me is older than the fifteenth century, Durga supplies therefore evidence of a very valuable character for the textual criticism of the Nirukta. The number of variants attributed by Durga to his predecessors and his frequent remarks that the text is corrupt and that the right reading is to be discovered,—all such cases I have pointed out in my notes,—indicate that there has been no unbroken tradition with regard to the handing down of the text of the Nirukta.

Further there seems to have been some sort of revival of the study of the Nirukta in the neighbourhood of Jammu in Durga's time, for it seems difficult to imagine that in an isolated place like Jammu, Durga sat down to write his commentary simply for the love of writing a commentary. It is more reasonable to suppose that Durga accomplished this task in order

<sup>1</sup> The Nirukta, iv. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Durga's Commentary on the N. iv. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sāyaṇa on RV. III. 58. Cf. Bib. Ind.

edition of the Nirukta, vol. ii, p. 416. Cf. Muir, Sanskrit Texts.

<sup>4</sup> N. vii. 3.

to meet the demand for a good text, elucidation of obscure passages, and amplification of Yāska's arguments, a demand which a revival of the study of the *Nirukta* had called forth. The examination of the manuscript of Durga's commentary, mentioned above, leads one to the conclusion that Durga did not live to complete his work and that he himself wrote his commentary up to the end of the 11th chapter only. This is indicated by a comparison of colophons in the manuscript which, at the end of the 7th-12th chapters, numbered as 12-17 by Durga consecutively from the five chapters of the *Nighantu*, are as follows:

- (1) At the end of the 7th chap. on f. 50 r. ॥ दादशोधायः ॥
- (2) " 8th chap. on f. 70 v. ॥ इति नियुत्तवृत्ती वयो · · · ध्वायः ॥
- (3) " 9th chap. on f. 86 v. ॥ सूज्वश्रीयां निद . . . समाप्तः ॥
- (4) " " 10th chap. on f. 112 r. ॥ चूल्य . . . पंचदशोध्यायः समाप्तः ॥
- (5) " 11th chap. on f. 132 v. । महत्वर्षायां निरुत्तवृत्ती वंबूमा-र्गात्रमनिवासिन भाषार्थमनवहुर्गसिंहकृती घोडग्रसाध्यायस चतुर्धः पादः समाप्तः ।

A comparison of these five colophons shows that the first four do not contain any reference to Durga by name nor to his honorific titles, which fact implies that they were written by Durga himself, while that at the end of the 11th chapter was added by some disciple, who speaks of Durga as an ācārya and addresses him as bhagavat. Durga could not have appropriated these titles himself unless he was very vain. Another point in favour of the fifth colophon being written by a person other than Durga is that while the first four colophons say that such and such a chapter has come to an end, the fifth remarks that such a  $p\bar{a}da$  of that chapter has come to an end. The colophon at the end of the 11th chapter is the final inscription and as such should have been placed at the end of the 12th chapter, where no such description is found; the colophon there, on f. 150 r., being ॥ समहत्रक चतुर्यः पादः ॥ This leads one to the conclusion that Durga himself wrote his commentary up to the end of the 11th chapter, whose colophon was added by a disciple who also wrote the commentary on the 12th chapter, and faithfully refrained himself from adding the name of Durga in the colophon at the end of the 12th chapter. MS. Mill 142, dated A.D. 1839, and described in the Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library by Keith, also preserves the final inscription at the end of the 11th chapter, while on f. 123 v., at the end of the 12th chapter it simply says ॥ सप्तरमस्य चतुर्चः पादः ॥ It is also to be noticed that in this manuscript

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, p. 108.

as well, the word  $adhy\bar{a}ya$  only is used in the earlier colophons while  $p\bar{a}da$  makes its appearance in those at the end of the 11th and the 12th chapters. Another point of minor importance may also be adduced in this connexion, i.e. the manuscripts have the following bloka at the end of the 12th chapter.

# स्त्र्यभिवापे यथा कामी करोत्वंगविचेष्टितम्। स्वीसमषं तथा कुर्यादयं मृंगारसकियाम्॥

As Durga is shown to be a hermit, to ascribe these verses to him will be highly inappropriate.

#### Durga and the Parisista.

Both the published editions of Durga's commentary regard the commentary on the portions of the 13th chapter as an integral part of Durga's work. But the MS. Wilson 475, dated 1387 A.D., and MS. Mill 142, dated 1839 A.D., do not contain the commentary on the 13th chapter. In both these manuscripts the commentary is completed at the end of the 12th chapter and the MS. Mill 142, expressly say that the work is finished.

### ॥ समाप्ती चन्दः॥

Moreover, the 13th chapter was not added to the *Nirukta* by Durga's time, as is proved by his remark in the introductory part of his commentary:

# षयं च तस्ता दादशाध्यायी माध्यविस्तरः। तस्त्रेदमादिवास्त्रम्। समास्त्रायः समास्रातः॥

'And this (the Nirukta) is its (the Nighantu's) amplified commentary consisting of twelve chapters whose first sentence is "a list has been handed down by tradition".' Hence the commentary on the 13th chapter was written at a later period and attributed to Durga by some disciple or follower of his.

#### Yāska's contributions to Etymology, Philology, and Semantics.

#### 1. Date of Yāska.

History is the one weak point of Sanskrit literature, being practically non-existent. Not a single systematic chronological record has survived, and so complete is the lack of any data to guide us in this matter that the dates of even the most famous Indian authors like Pāṇini and Kālīdāsa are still subject to controversy. Yāska's date cannot therefore be determined with absolute certainty. One can arrive at a relative date

<sup>1</sup> This evidence is, however, inadequate. To make the case plausible, it must be corroborated by the internal evidence, i.e. the difference of style, treatment, &c. With this

view I am now systematically examining and comparing the commentary on the twelfth with that of the preceding chapters. Later on I shall add the result of my examination.

only by bringing together the isolated pieces of information supplied by archaeological finds, literary references, and accidental mention of known historical or political events. This evidence, however, is not conclusive, and is differently interpreted by various oriental scholars. There is a great difference of opinion among them about the precise date of Yāska, but at the same time there is also the unanimity which sets down his lower limit as not later than 500 B.C.. As this limit has not been questioned so far (while his upper limit is carried as far as 700 B.C.), it may therefore be safely assumed that Yaska lived at least about a century earlier than Plato. Both Yaska and Plato sum up as it were the results of their predecessors in philological and etymological investigations in the Nirukta and the Cratylus respectively. Both stand pre-eminent with regard to their age, and have dominated the thought of succeeding generations in their respective countries. Yāska's work is important for the history of philology and etymology. And as the representative record of the researches of ancient Indians, it is of considerable interest for a comparative study of the Indian and Greek achievements in these two branches of knowledge in the earliest period of their history.

## 2. Phonetic equipment of Yāska.

Before we proceed to examine, in detail, the principles laid down by Yāska for etymology, or his speculations in philology, it will be worth while to inquire whether Yaska was a properly qualified person to undertake the task, i.e. whether he possessed any knowledge of sound-laws. or, in other words, whether he received any phonetic training, and of what sort? As has already been pointed out, historical and biographical records about ancient India do not exist, or at least, if they existed, have not survived. Nothing definite is, therefore, known about the life of Yāska, nor about the period in which he lived, nor about the educational system which then prevailed. In the absence of such records it is therefore extremely difficult to ascertain the worth of his qualifications, or the extent of, and his familiarity with, sound-laws. Yet some indirect information can be pieced together by collecting a few isolated data capable of throwing some light on the subject. In the first place, Yaska is acquainted with a vast amount of Sanskrit literature. The numerous exemplary quotations occurring in the Nirukta conclusively show that he knew the Rg-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Atharva-veda, the Yajur-veda, and their pada-pāṭhas, the Taittirīya Samhitā, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, the Kāthaka Samhitā, the Aitareya Brāhmana, the Gopatha Brāhmana, the Kauşītaki Brāhmana, the Satapatha Brāhmana, the Prātisākhyas,

and some of the *Upanisads*. The full list of all the works known to him is given in the Appendix. This shows that Yāska was a man of comprehensive knowledge and vast reading. Secondly, he refers to and quotes the opinions of the various schools of thought which existed in his time, i.e. the school of etymologists, the school of grammarians, the school of ritualists, the school of legendists, the school of Naidānas (i.e. specialists, in primary causes). Further, he discusses and criticizes the views of many authorities—his predecessors and contemporaries. The full list of these is also given in the Appendix. The mention of eminent scholars and schools of thought presupposes specialization in their respective departments of knowledge which implies some uniform system of training and a sufficiently high order of education extending over a long period. Otherwise it is difficult to conceive how these various schools could have come into existence at all. Thus it can be assumed without much doubt that Yaska had received some kind of training in one, or more than one, of these schools. He discusses the doctrines of the schools other than his own, and thus seems to have acquired a general familiarity with them to be able to do so. Thirdly, he distinctly mentions the prātiśākhyas, i. e. phonetic treatises which record the researches made by ancient Indians in the physiological and the acoustic aspects of Phonetics. These treatises themselves presuppose the existence of the pad v-pāthas, i.e. 'the word texts', which give every word of the samhitā in its isolated state, i.e. free from the euphonic combinations, and analyse compounds into their component elements. Gradually by the time of Yaska, a strong phonetic feeling had come into existence, as is evident from the scientific arrangement and classification of the Sanskrit alphabet. This shows that Yaska was furnished with some phonetic equipment, such as the state of the scholarship of the time permitted him to acquire. This view is supported by the fact that Yāska is familiar with and recognizes the following phonetic phenomena: (1) Syncope as in जन्सः (they went) from the root गम् (to go); (2) Metathesis as in खोखा 'a drop' from चुत् (to drop), रजा: (rope) from खज (to emit), and तर्ज 'knife' from कत् (to cut), and so on; (3) Anaptyxis, as in आखत from the root अस (to throw), दारः (door) from the root q (to cover), Hear: from the root were (to fry), &c.; (4) haplology as in  $\sqrt{1} = tri + rca$ , i.e. 'three stanzas'.' He is also acquainted with assimilation, and has noticed an example of prakrtization in the Rg-veda while explaining कुटस by क्रान्स (N. v. 24). For the detailed account of his observations on phonetic phenomena see Chapter II, sections

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> All these words are found in the *Nirukta*, ii. 1-2. I have cited examples furnished by Yaska himself.

1-2. From what has gone before, it may be concluded that Yaska was a man of extensive reading, that he had pursued a systematic course of study, and that he was furnished with some phonetic equipment. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that his explanations are pervaded with a rationalistic spirit and devoid of the mystifying or supernatural element, a characteristic of the ritualist and the parivrājaka school, cf. e.g. Yāska's explanation of Vrtra. He is altogether free from fanaticism, bigotry, and intolerance when he meets Kautsa's adverse criticism of what he believes to be the revealed hymns, but gives rational answers to the various points of objection. He is actuated by a scientific spirit even when he is dealing with gods. Thus, for instance, he classifies gods into various groups, i.e. the terrestrial, the atmospheric, and the celestial according to the sphere of their activity, and assigns definite functions to each. Yāska's classification of gods has nothing corresponding to it in the mythologies of other nations. Further, his treatment of synonyms and homonyms is also scientific. At first he attributes a particular meaning to a particular word, and then supports his assertion by quoting a passage, generally from the Vedic literature, in which that word is used in that particular sense. Whether or not one agrees with him in attributing particular meanings to particular words, it cannot be denied that his method is scientific and, notwithstanding his remote antiquity, surprisingly modern. This scientific spirit, so evident in the Nirukta, could be developed by a scientific training only. In the absence of any definite information. the preceding statement will, I think, give some indication as to Yāska's qualifications to undertake the task which he set before himself.

# 3. Importance of Etymology.

Taking both the East and the West together, Yāska is the first writer on etymology. He is also the first to treat it as a science by itself. According to the orthodox Indian tradition, the *Nirukta* has, for a long time, been recognized as a treatise which deals specially with etymology. But the claim of Yāska is not based on this recognition. He has enunciated his doctrines in the *Nirukta*. His remarks on the importance of etymology may sound very commonplace to us, but probably appeared to have the same profoundness of wisdom when they were first uttered about 2,500 years ago, as President Wilson's fourteen points for the modern political world. His arguments for etymology are summarized as follows:

(1) Etymology is essential for the proper understanding of the Vedic texts.

- (2) Etymology is the complement of grammar.<sup>1</sup>
- (3) Etymology is necessary for the analysis of the  $sa\dot{m}hit\bar{a}$  into the  $pada-p\bar{a}tha$ , and of words into their component elements.
- (4) Etymology has practical utility, for it enables one to discover the primary deity of a stanza which bears the characteristic marks of more than one deity, and thus helps to perform the sacrifice with perfection.
- (5) Etymology is a science, and should be studied for its own sake, for knowledge is commended, and ignorance is condemned. (Chapter I, sec. 15-17.)

## 4. Principles of Etymology.

Yāska's fundamental notion about language is, that all words can be reduced to their primordial elements which he calls roots. With this idea he lays great emphasis on the point that as every word can be traced to an original root, one should never give up a word as underivable. His first general principle is, 'One should give the etymological explanation of words whose accent and grammatical form are regular, and are accompanied with a radical modification in the usual manner', i. e. in accordance with the laws of phonology. One would hardly question the derivation of पाचन from पच 'to cook', or of पाउन from पढ 'to read', or of बोध from बुध 'to know', or of भेद from भिद् 'to break', and so on. It should be observed that Yaska recognized the importance of accent, and accords it a due place in his principle. It is obvious that the above-mentioned rule is limited in its scope, for only a comparatively small number of words can fulfil the conditions therein laid down. Yāska therefore strikes a note of warning and says that a disproportionate importance should not be attached to grammatical form, for the rules of grammar are not universal like laws of nature, and have many exceptions, adding that one has also to take into consideration phonetic phenomena such as syncope, metathesis, haplology, anaptyxis, assimilation, &c. His second principle is that in case the accent and grammatical form are not regular, and are not accompanied with a radical modification, one should always take his stand on the meaning of the word and endeavour to derive it from some similarity of form, or if there is no such similarity of form, even from the similarity of a single letter or syllable. Thus, according to Yāska, one should not be afraid to derive, dois, dû, doive, dusse, &c. from devoir, 'to owe', or isti (sacrifice) from the root yaj (to sacrifice), on account of the apparent dissimilarity of their form. Comparative philology furnishes the best examples to illustrate Yāska's remark that often there is hardly any resemblance between a word and its original source, i.e. its primitive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tad idam vidyā-sthānam vyākaranasya kārtsnyam. N. i. 15.

and derivative forms. Cf. IE. \*penque; Skt. pañca; Zend. pañca; Gk.  $\pi\acute{e}\nu\tau \epsilon$ ; Lat. quinque; Lith. penkè; Goth. fimf; Germ. fünf; OE. fif; Eng. five. Again, French larme and English tear have only r in common, both being otherwise quite different from their original source \*dakru, which assumed an Anglo-Saxon form tear, and a primitive Lat. dacru. The Eng. ewe and Lat. ovis have nothing in common, and each has exclusively preserved some parts of their original \*owis. Eng. four, Germ. vier, have only r in common with Gk.  $\tau\acute{e}\tau\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ s. Eng. quick (orig. 'alive') has only i in common with Gk.  $\beta\acute{e}$ os (life). Eng. sit, and Gk. hed ( $\epsilon\acute{e}$ oa, 'seat') have nothing in common, and each has preserved one exclusive part of the original \*sed. Again, cf. IE. \*ghans; Skt. hamsa; Gk.  $\chi\acute{\eta}\nu$ ; Lat. anser (for hanser); Germ. Gans; OE.  $g\acute{e}$ s; Eng. goose.

But the application of this rule by an incompetent person gives rise to grotesque results; many such cases are supplied by the Nirukta, e.g. Śākaṭāyana's derivation of Sat-ya, the ya of which he formed from the causal of i, and Sat from as, 'to be'. Yāska foresaw the danger of the misuse of his principle. So after laying down his rule, he adds a note of warning. He urges that single words isolated from their context should not be thus derived, for without a knowledge of the context, it is often difficult to know the precise meaning of a word. He recommends that derivations should not be explained for a person not acquainted, or not well acquainted, with grammar, and not for one who has not studied etymology as a pupil. He says, 'One should indeed explain derivations for one's own pupil who has been in residence studying etymology or for one who is capable of understanding; for the intelligent and for the diligent.' N. ii. 3.

The third principle of etymology laid down by Yāska is that one should derive words in accordance with their meanings. 'If their meanings are the same, their etymologies should be the same, if the meanings are different, the etymologies should also be different.' (N. ii. 7.)

This principle is on the whole sound, for in every language there occurs the phenomenon that words of different origin often assume the same form. For instance:

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derived from the root aj means 'driven'.
Skt. Akta
                                                  'besmeared'.
                                      añj
    Aja
                                                 'driver'.
                                      uj
                                   ,,
                                             ,,
                   ,,
                                   " jan
                                                 'not born'.
              = an-ista from \sqrt{i}s means 'unwished'.
                               √yaj
                                            'not sacrificed'.
               = an-ieta ,
     Anud\bar{a}ra = an-ud\bar{a}ra means 'a niggardly man'.
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Skt.  $Anud\bar{a}ra = anu-d\bar{a}ra$  means 'followed by a wife'.

= a-pavana , 'without air'.

Apavana = apa-vana , 'a grove'.

= a-vasāna " 'not dressed'.

 $Avas\bar{a}na = ava-s\bar{a}na$  , 'resting-place'.

English Abode. From abide, meaning 'delay' or 'dwelling-place'.

Abode. OE. abeód-an, connected with the primitive verb beódan, meaning 'prognostication'; cf. fore-bode.

Abound. OFr. abunder, abonder, habonder; Lat. abundare, meaning 'to be plentiful'.

", = a-bound, meaning 'to get limits to'.

Admiral. OFr. amiral, derived from the Arabic amīr-al, latinized in various ways and assimilated according to popular forms, meaning 'a naval officer'.

A by-form of admirable. OFr. amirable, Lat. admīrābil-em, meaning 'exciting admiration'.

Adust. Lat. adust-us, Fr. aduste, meaning 'scorched'.

= a-dust, meaning 'in a dusty condition'.

Aught. OE. &ht; OHG. &ht; Goth. aiht-s, meaning 'possession'.

OE. d,  $\delta$ +whit; OHG. eowiht, iowiht, &c.; ME.  $\bar{o}ht$ ,  $\bar{o}ght$ , meaning 'anything whatever'.

Bay. OFr. baie; Lat. baca, meaning 'a small fruit, a berry'.

" Fr. baie; Lat. baia, meaning an indentation of sea into land, or of land into the sea.

" OFr. baée; Lat. type badāta, meaning 'the division of a barn'.

OFr. bay; It. bada; Lat. badare, 'to open the mouth', meaning barking or baying'.

Cf. ON. bagr, bagja, 'to push back', meaning 'an embankment or dam'.

" Short form of bay-antler, meaning 'the second branch of a stag's horn'.

, Fr. bai; Lat. badius, meaning 'a reddish-brown colour'.

Beak. Fr. bec; It. becco; Sp. bico; Late Lat. beccus, meaning 'a bird's bill'.

"A justice of the peace'.

A variant of beek, 'to warm'.

Bear. OE. bera; OHG. bero; Mod. G. bär; cf. ON. björn; Lat. ferus, meaning 'an animal'.

OE. bere; cf. Goth. barizeins, meaning 'barley'.

OE. and OHG. ber-an; ON. ber-a; Goth. bair-an; Lat. fer; Gk. φερ; Skt. bhar, meaning 'to carry'. English Dole derived from French devil means 'grief'.

" related to Teut. deal; Ger. Teil means 'portion'.

Fame. Fr. fame; Lat. fāma (report); Gk. φήμη, meaning 'public report'.

Fr. faim; Lat. fames; cf. OFr. afamer, meaning 'want of food, hunger'.

Obsolete form of foam.

Fast. OE. fastan; OHG. fasten; ON. fasta; Goth. fastan, meaning 'to abstain from food'.

" ME. fest; ON. fest-r, meaning 'a rope'.

Fr. faste; Lat. fastus, meaning 'arrogance'.

Fold. OE. folde; OLG. folda; ON. fold, related to \*felpu, 'field', meaning 'ground'.

OE. fealdon; OHG. fuldan; ON. falda; Goth. falpan; OTeut. \*falpan; cf. Lith. pleta; Gk. δί-παλτος, meaning 'to arrange one thing over another'.

OE. falced; Mod. LG. falt, meaning 'an enclosure for domestic animals'.

" ME. fald; OHG. falt; ON. fald-r, meaning 'a bend or ply'.

Hound. OE. hund; OHG. hunt (d-); Goth. hunds; ON. hundr; Gk. κύων, κυν; Skt. έναη, meaning 'dog'.

ME. hūn; ON. húnn, meaning 'a projection'.

Seal. OE. stol; OHG. selah; ON. sel-r, meaning 'an animal'.

OFr. seel; It. suggello; Lat. sigillum, meaning 'a device'.

Sound. Derived from Fr. son; Lat. sonus, means 'noise'.

" OE. sund, means 'strong'.

" Fr. sonder; Lat. subundare, means 'testing depths'.

French Air. Gk. ἀήρ; Lat. āer-em; Sp. aire, meaning 'the gaseous substance which envelopes the earth'.

OFr. aire, meaning 'disposition'.

" It. aria, meaning 'melody'.

Champs. Lat. campus; It. campo; Sp. campo, meaning 'field'.

"OFr. cant, meaning 'side'.

Chère. Feminine of cher, 'dear'.

Gk. χαρά, 'face'.

Cousin, -e. Lat. consobrinus; It. cugino, -a; Sp. sobrino, -a; Ptg. sobrinho, -a, meaning 'a relative'.

Lat. culicinus, meaning 'an insect'.

Devant. Preposition meaning 'before'.

Pr. participle of devoir, 'to owe'.

Feu. Lat. focus; It. fuoco; Sp. fuego; Ptg. fogo; OFr. fou, meaning 'fire'.

- French Feu. Derived by Estienne and Scheler from Lat. fuit > feut > feu; by Ménage from Lat. felix > felicis > felce > feu; by Littré from OFr. fuhu > feü, connecting with Lat. fatutus, meaning 'dead'.
  - Fier. Lat. fidare for (fidere); It. fidare; Sp. and Ptg. fiar, meaning 'to put confidence'.
    - Lat. ferus; It. and Sp. fiero; Ptg. fero, meaning 'proud'.
  - Firme. Lat. firmus; ME. ferme, meaning 'firm'; cf. Skt.  $\sqrt{dh}$ .

    Med. Lat. firma, meaning, a farm'.
  - Franc. Lat. francus; It. franco; Sp. and Ptg. franco, meaning 'free'.

    Meaning 'a French coin'.
    - Geste. Lat. gestus, meaning, 'gesture'.
    - " Lat. gesta; It. gesta, meaning 'heroic deed, poetry'; cf. chanson de geste.
  - Louer derived from Lat. locare means 'to let'.
    - " " " " laudare means 'to praise'.
- German acht. OHG. ahto; MHG. ahte; Goth. ahtau; OE. eahta, derived from an IE. root; cf. Skt. aṣṭau; Gk. ὀκτώ; Lat. octo; Lith. asztāni, meaning 'eight'.
  - OHG. ahta; MHG. ahte; OE. oht, meaning 'proscription'.
  - Ball. From bellen, meaning 'barking'.
    - MHG. bal, balles; cognate with OHG. ballo; MHG. balle; ME. bal, balle; OTeut. \*ballôn, \*ballôn; cf. Lat. foll-is, 'something inflated'; Fr. balle, meaning 'a ball to play with'.
    - ", Fr. bal; It. ballo; Fr. baler or baller; Lat. ballare; Gk. βαλλίζω, meaning 'a dance'.
  - Bauer. OHG. búr; MHG. búr; LG. buur; ON. búr; OE. búr, 'dwelling'; cf. neighbour; OE. néah-gebúr and nach-bar; E. bower; OTeut. \*búro(m), from Teut. √bž; IE. √bhu; cf. Skt. bhū (bhūmi, 'earth'); Gk. φύω; Lat. fui (futurus); meaning 'bird-cage'.
    - OHG. bilari; MHG. bilwere; cf. Erbauer, Ackerbauer, from the \( \sqrt{bauen}, \) to cultivate'; Du. bouwen; MHG., MDu. bilwen; meaning 'a peasant'.
  - Bulle. MLG. bulle; MDu. bulle; Du. bul, bol; ON. bole, boli; ME. bole (boole); cf. ME. bule, bulle and E. bull, bullock; meaning 'a buffalo'.
    - " MHG. bulle; OE. bulle; E. bull; Fr. bulle, derived from Lat. bulla, meaning 'a papal mandate'.

- German Geiseln. Pl. of geisel, OHG. gisel; MHG. gisel; OE. gisel, meaning 'hostages'.
  - A form of geiszeln, MHG. geiseln, meaning 'to whip'.
  - Kehren. OHG. kēran; MHG. kēren, meaning 'to sweep'.

    OHG. kerian; MHG. kern, meaning 'to turn'.
    - Kiefer. OHG. kienforha; MHG. kienboum and the corresponding word to OHG. \*kienforhe; cf. Kien and Föhre, meaning 'Scotch fir, pine tree'.
      - MHG. kiver, kivel, kivele; OSaxon. kâflos; OE. ceáfl, meaning 'jaw'.
  - Kiel. OHG. kiol, chiol; MLG. kêl, ktl; MHG. kiel; OE. céol; OS. kiol, meaning 'keel'.
    - , MHG. kil; LG. quiele; E. quill, meaning 'a piece of reed or feather of a bird'.
  - Laden. OHG. hladan; MHG. laden; OS. hladan; OE. hladan; Goth. (af)halþan; E. lade, meaning 'to load'.
    - OHG. ladon; MHG. laden; Goth. lapon; OE. lablan, meaning 'shop'.
  - Mandel. MLG. MDu. mande; OE. mand, mond; E. maund, meaning 'to count by fifteen'.
    - OHG. mandala; MHG. mandel; OFr. almande, also amande, amandre; cf. Sp. almendra; It. mandorla, mandola, meaning 'almond'.
  - Mark. OHG. marka; MHG. marke; OS. marka; OE. mearc, meaning 'boundary'.
    - MHG. mark; MDu. marc; ON. mork; OE. marc; Med. Lat. marca, marcus; Fr. marc; It. marco, marca, meaning 'a coin'.
    - oHG. marg, marag; MHG. marc, marg; OS. marg; OE. mearz, mearh; MDu. march, marg; Mod. Du. merg; OTeut. \*mazgo; cf. AV. mazga; Skt. majjan, meaning 'the soft fatty substance of bones'.
  - Reis. OHG. hriis; MHG. ris; ON. hris; MDu. Du. rijs; OF. hris, meaning 'twigs or small branches'.
    - " MHG. ris; MLG. riis; ME. rys; OFr. ris; It. riso; Lat. \*orizum; Gk. δρυζα; cf. Skt. vrīhi, meaning 'rice'.
- Hindi kāma derived from Skt. kr. means 'work'.
  - ", ", ", *kam* "'love'.

Examples might be multiplied. It is clear that such words can be satisfactorily derived only with reference to their meaning, for being derivable

from more than one original source, they are liable to be connected with the wrong root unless the derivation is based on the meaning. Yāska's rule is therefore sound. But in criticism of Yāska's rule, it may be remarked that words, having the same origin, come to acquire different meanings. For instance, Lat. cup(cupido), 'to desire', and Skt. kup, 'to be angry', have the same common origin. Again, cf. IE. klutós; Skt. śrutás; Gk. κλυτός; Lat. (in)clutus; OE. hlūd; Eng. loud. Yāska did not know any other language besides Sanskrit, his horizon was therefore necessarily limited, yet his familiarity with the two phases of the Sanskrit language, i. e. the Vedic and the classical, which is historically the development of the former, and which in their relation to each other bear a close correspondence to that of the Ionic and the Attic tongues, placed him on a better working ground than those who were not fully conscious of such historical development. There is no passage in the Cratylus, for instance, showing that Plato realized that the Attic was historically the outgrowth of the Ionic language. On the contrary, the following passage indicates that he was not aware of any such development.

## 5. Plato on Etymology.

Soc. 'Yes, my dear friend; but then you know that the original names have been long ago buried and disguised by people sticking on and stripping off letters for the sake of euphony, and twisting and bedizening them in all sorts of ways. . . . And the additions are often such that at last no human being can possibly make out the original meaning of the word.' Again, Plato does not recognize that etymology has any scientific or even systematic basis. He does not seem to realize that derivation of words should be governed by some general rules. In addition to the above, I quote the following passage in support of my statement:

Soc. . . . 'Now attend to me; and first, remember that we often put in and pull out letters in words and give names as we please and change the accents.' Evidently he did not attach much importance to accent. The only principle, which can hardly be so called, is contained in the following passage:

Soc. . . . . 'And whether the syllables of the name are the same or not the same, makes no difference, providing the meaning is retained; nor does the addition or subtraction of a letter make any difference so long

<sup>1</sup> Jowett, Dialogues of Plato (3rd ed.), vol. i, p. 858.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 841.

as the essence of the thing remains in possession of the name and appears in it.'1

These three passages from the Cratylus indicate that Plato looked upon etymology as a compendium of individual conjecture which would justify Voltaire's famous satire that, 'Etymology is a science in which vowels count for nothing and consonants for very little', and Max Müller's well-known epigram that, 'a sound etymology has nothing to do with sound'. The fundamental difference between Yaska and Plato is that the former distinguished roots from affixes and suffixes, i.e. the radical from the formative element, and hence was able to formulate general principles for analysing words into their constituent parts; the latter did not realize this distinction and consequently made conjecture the basis of etymology. It may be remarked, however, that Sanskrit is generally acknowledged to be more perspicuous than Greek; it was easier therefore to see this distinction in Sanskrit than it was in Greek, and besides Yaska had the advantage of inheriting this knowledge from a long line of predecessors who had made this discovery at a very early period. But Yaska's greatness, even if every one of his etymological explanations is proved to be wrong—as many are manifestly so,—lies in the fact that he is the first to claim a scientific foundation, and also the first to formulate general principles for etymology.

## 6. Philological speculations of Yāska.

In two aphoristic rules, Yāska enunciates his view as to why articulate speech is given preference to other modes of expression, such as gestures, movements of hands and body, &c. He says, 'words are used to designate objects with regard to everyday affairs in the world, on account of their comprehensiveness and minuteness'. Durga, the commentator of Yāska, explains the term 'comprehensiveness', with regard to the psychological process involved in the apprehension of meaning through the instrumentality of the spoken word. He says that there are two phases of consciousness in the human mind, i.e. (1) the manifest, and (2) the unmanifest. When a person desires to express the manifest consciousness, his effort results in the exhalation of breath which modified in the various speech-organs produces the word. The word again pervades the unmanifest consciousness of the hearer, makes it manifest, and thus the meaning is apprehended. Using philological terminology, we may express the same thing by saying that there are permanent word-records in the sub-conscious strata of the human

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jowett, Dialogues of Plato (3rd ed.), vol. i,

<sup>2</sup> The Nirukta, i. 2.

p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> Durga on N. i. 2.

mind. These word-records are brought from the sub-conscious to the conscious state by articulated speech. It may be objected that whatever the psychological process may be, the most important use of the word is to express and convey the meaning to somebody else, and this purpose can equally be accomplished by other methods, such as gestures, movements of hands, face, and eyes. As if Yaska had anticipated this objection, he adds the term 'minuteness' in his aphorism. Durga has the following comment: The movements of hands and the winking of the eyes, &c., are also comprehensive, they will express the meaning and in this manner we will be saved the trouble of studying grammar and the bulky Vedic literature. True, gestures, &c., are comprehensive, but they are not minute, i.e. they involve greater effort in production and are always indefinite. Even discarding Durga's elaborate explanation of 'comprehensiveness', Yāska's aphorism can mean only that words are used in the everyday affairs of the world because they are capable of giving expression to every kind of meaning with their numerous shades of difference, and are produced with comparatively less exertion. There seems to be no doubt that at the time of writing the above-mentioned aphorism, Yāska had in his mind the alternative method of expression by means of gestures, &c. And his argument that words are preferred to gestures, on account of the economy of effort, has a strikingly modern note.

### 7. Origin of Language.

Yāska is a follower of the school of etymologists, whose fundamental doctrines is that all words are derived from original roots.\(^1\) Gārgya and the followers of the school of grammarians do not agree with him.\(^2\) There is also a short discussion about onomatopoeia.\(^3\) Aupamanyava maintains that there is no such thing as onomatopoeia, but Yāska holds that there are some words which are formed by the mere imitation of sounds of nature, mostly the names of birds, such as crow, partridge, &c., but which can be derived otherwise also. It is surprising that in this connexion he does not mention the word cuckoo. Besides the names of birds, he thinks that the following words are similarly formed. Kitava\(^4\), 'a gambler'; dundubhi\(^5\), 'a drum'; cisc\(\bar{a}\) kṛṇoti\(^6\), 'it makes a cisc\(\bar{a}\) sound'; kṛka\(^7\), the former part of kṛkavāku, 'a cock'. According to Yāska, onomatopoeia does not play any important part in the foundation of language. He discards

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Nirukta, i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit. iii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. v. 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid. ix. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ix. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. xii. 18.

therefore the so-called Bow-wow theory.¹ As Yāska reduces all words to primordial roots, he may therefore be regarded as an adherent of the root-theory.

This again affords a point of difference from the *Cratylus*, where Plato, in attempting to trace the origin of the sounds of the alphabet to the sounds of nature, considers onomatopoeia to be the most important factor in the formation of language. As an objection to his theory, it may be remarked that the objects with which men in primitive society are most familiar would be things like 'cave', 'pit', 'tree', &c., and the naming of these objects precludes all imitation of natural sounds. Words like 'digger', 'weaver', &c., would represent a higher stage of civilization.<sup>2</sup>

### 8. Parts of Speech.

Yāska says that there are four parts of speech: noun and verb, preposition and particle.<sup>3</sup> At first sight, it seems inexplicable that an ancient author like Yāska should mention preposition as a part of speech and should ignore adverbs which historically can be shown to have been evolved at an earlier stage of the linguistic development than the former. The difficulty, however, disappears when it is remembered that prepositions in Sanskrit are seldom used to express case relations, but mostly serve as adverbial prepositions. With Yāska's division of speech into four parts may be compared the remarks of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who attributes a similar classification to Aristotle.

'Composition is . . . . a certain arrangement of the parts of speech. . . . These were reckoned as three only by Theodectes and Aristotle and the philosophers of those times, who regarded nouns, verbs, and connectives as the primary parts of speech. Their successors, particularly the leaders of the Stoic school, raised the number to four, separating the article from the connectives.' According to Aristotle, 'Diction viewed as a whole is made up of the following parts: the letter (or the ultimate element), the syllable, the conjunction, the article, the noun, the verb, the case, and the speech.' 5

## 9. Aristotle's definition of Noun and Verb.

Yāska defines the noun and the verb as follows: 'A verb has becoming as its fundamental notion, a noun has being as its fundamental notion. But where both (i.e. becoming and being) are dominated by becoming as in a verbal noun), a becoming arising from a former

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Max Muller, Science of Language, vol. i, pp. 407-17.

4 Literary Composition, ch. iii, Roberts's ed., pp. 407-17.

See also Max Muller, loc. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Poetics, 20. 1456 b, Bywater's ed., p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Nirukta, i. 1.

to a later state is denoted by a verb, as 'he goes', 'he cooks', &c.; while the embodiment of the whole process beginning with the original and ending with the final conception, which has assumed the character of being, is denoted by a noun, as 'going', 'cooking', &c.¹ Further, becoming has six modifications: (1) genesis, (2) existence, (3) alteration, (4) growth, (5) decay, and (6) destruction.² With these may be compared Aristotle's definitions of noun and verb. 'A noun or name is a composite significant sound not involving the idea of time, with parts which have no significance by themselves in it. . . . A verb is a composite significant sound involving the idea of time, with parts which have no significance by themselves in it. Whereas the word 'man' or 'white' does not imply when, 'walks' and 'has walked' involve in addition to the idea of walking that of time present or time past.' 3

In his definition of a verb, Aristotle lays great emphasis on the idea of time, but ignores the idea of action involved in it; his definition is therefore incomplete and states the element of lesser importance only, for of the two ideas of action, and time, the former is of primary and the latter of secondary significance. Yāska has hit on the right word, i.e. becoming which expresses both, the notion of action and time as well. Aristotle's definition of a noun is a negative one. He explains what it does not involve, but not what it positively does involve. Yāska, on the other hand, gives a positive definition, setting forth being to be the fundamental notion of a noun. Further, he also defines a verbal noun, which is ignored by Aristotle.

Yāska explains prepositions as words which bring into prominence the subordinate meaning of nouns and verbs. He then subjoins a list of twenty prepositions assigning to each its appropriate meaning. Proceeding further, he divides particles into three groups, (1) comparatives, (2) conjunctives, and (3) expletives. He defines these terms, giving a list of the particles of each group, explaining their meanings and illustrating their uses by suitable quotations from Vedic literature. They are treated in detail in the first chapter of the *Nirukta* (sec. 3–9).

Yāska observes the dialectical differences in the spoken language of his time. Thus he points out certain characteristics of the speech of the Aryans and the Kāmbojas, the people of the East, and the people of the North.<sup>4</sup> He acknowledges the relation of the classical to the Vedic Sanskrit. Thus he remarks that their vocabulary is identical,<sup>5</sup> that their use of prepositions and particles with occasional exceptions is similar.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nirukta, i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. i. 16.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Poetics, 20. 1456 b. 10, Bywater's ed., p. 58. <sup>6</sup> Op. cit. i. 3-9.

He seems to be conscious of the historical connexion of the two languages when he says that the words of the one are derived from the roots of the other.¹ He knows that it is not nouns only, but also verbs, which have synonyms. 'So many verbs have the same meaning. So many are the synonym of a noun (lit. being).'² He explains homonym as a word which has more than one meaning.³ He also notices certain idiomatic expressions, whose order is immutably fixed as 'Indra and Agni', 'father and son', but not 'Agni and Indra', 'son and father'.⁴

#### Semantics.

### How names are given.

The epoch of Yaska was an age of remarkable literary activity. There seems to be a general striving after the search of truth in all the departments of human knowledge. On the philosophic side, it marks the beginning of the Upanisadic period which preached monotheism of an exalted type, and gave expression to some of the sublimest thoughts ever recorded in the history of mankind. On the religious side, it was the harbinger of the Buddha who was soon to carry out a campaign of vigorous protestantism against the then prevailing ritualistic practices. Even in the matter of style, it is the period of transition which ushered in the era of the aphorism (sūtra). As shown above, the age was busy with grammatical and philological speculations, nor was semantics ignored. In the first chapter of the Nirukta (see 12-14), Yaska discusses the question, how names are given. The most important arguments are set forth in the form of questions and answers. A critic is introduced who raises the various points of objection, each of which is duly answered by the author. It is a dialogue consisting of two monologues which are put in the mouths of the critic and the author in succession. The arguments are as follows: (1) Every being who performs a particular action should be called by the same name, e.g. every one who runs on the road should be called asva (runner), and not the horse alone; everything that pricks, as a needle or spear for instance, should be called trna (pricker) and not a blade of grass alone. (2) Every being should be given as many names as the actions with which that particular being is associated, e.g. a pillar should be called not sthūnā (i.e. which stands upright) only, but also darā śayā (i.e. which rests in a hole), and also  $sanjan\bar{\imath}$  (i.e. which is joined with the (3) Only such words should be used in giving names as are regularly derived from roots according to the rules of grammar, so that

the meaning of the object which they denote, should be quite clear and free from doubt, e.g. puruṣa (man) should be puri-saya (i.e. city-dweller); aśva (horse) = aṣṭa (i.e. runner); tṛṇa (grass) = tardana (pricker) and so on. (4) If the name of an object is to be determined by its actions, the being precedes the action (e.g. the horse comes into existence before it actually runs), the designation of a being, which is earlier, from an action, which is subsequent to it, is not tenable (perhaps for the reason that it will leave the being nameless during the interval). (5) People indulge in sophistry in explaining names, as for instance, when it is said that earth (pṛthivī) is so called on account of its being broad (prath), they do not consider as to who made it broad and on what basis.

### Rejoinder.

- (1) We find that of the beings who perform a particular action, all do not get the same name but only a few, e.g. every one who cuts wood is not called tukṣaka, but the carpenter alone is so called; it is the ascetic only who is called pari-vrājaka (i. e. a wanderer) and not every one who wanders; it is only the sap of the sugar-cane that is called jīvana (i. e. enlivening) and not everything that enlivens; it is only the planet Mars that is called bhūmi-ja (i. e. earth-born), and not everything that is born from the earth and so on. He seems to imply that there is a law of specialization by which a particular name comes to be exclusively associated with a particular object.
- (2) He means to say that in spite of their manifold activities, objects take their name from one particular action, which is the most important and the most special to them, e.g. a carpenter performs many actions, yet he is called takṣaka (i.e. a cutter of wood), because the shaping of things by cutting wood is his most important function and can be specially associated with him. Durga has the following comment on it:

 ... तच चदुक्तमेवसानेविक्तियायोगाइनेवनामता प्रसन्तिति । एतइयुक्तम् । यहि चोक्तमनेविचामेवनामतिवस्य चानेवनामता प्राप्तोति ततस्य व्यवहाराप्रसिद्धिरिति । नहि तदुमयमस्ति । चनेविषामेविक्तियायोगेऽपि हि सत्तिवस्य चानेविक्तियायोगेऽपि हि सति व्यवस्ति एव शब्दनियमः समावत एव बोवि ।

'Thou seest, my friend, and we also see, that one man who cuts wood is called 'carpenter', while another who does the same is not so called. You may well ask the reason. Listen; go and ask the world, quarrel with the world if you like, for it is not I who made this law. But this is what we find: of those who do the same work, some are named in accordance with that activity, others not. You may say that because one object is named in accordance with that activity, therefore others doing the same thing should be similarly named . . . Although all nouns are derived from verbs, the choice of names with reference to a particular action is made by nature (svabhāvatah); or it may be that the choice is made by the law of special action. A man who performs one particular action more specially, whatever other actions he may perform, will obtain his name from that particular action. This is a settled rule. For we do not call the man, who cuts wood now and then, by the name of carpenter, but him we call carpenter who cuts wood at any time, or in any place and always. This is an instance of a name, the choice of which is made by special action and this name may be freely given to others who perform the same action specially. And if sometimes, or somewhere, some other action is still more special to them, they will obtain their names in accordance with that action only. . . .

We see that persons who perform many actions, obtain their names from one particular action. A carpenter performs many other actions, but he is not called after those activities. . . . If it be said, that many persons who perform the same action, should have a common name, and one person who performs many actions, should have as many names, all that we can say is, that it is contrary to the practice of the world. Neither is the case. Whether many persons perform a particular action, or a single person many actions, the law about the names is that the choice is made by natural selection.' 1

With this may be compared the remarks of Bréal.

'One conclusion is to be drawn from all that has gone before: it is an undoubted fact that Language designates things in an incomplete and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> CL Max Müller's translation of some parts of the above-quoted passage (ibid., p. 167).

inaccurate manner. Incomplete: since we have not exhausted all that can be said of the sun when we have declared it to be shining, or of the horse when we say that it trots. Inaccurate: since we cannot say of the sun that it shines when it has set, or of the horse that it trots when it is at rest, or when wounded or dead.

Substantives are signs attached to things: they contain exactly that amount of truth which can be contained by a name, an amount which is of necessity small in proportion to the reality of the object. . . . It will be impossible for language to introduce into the word all the ideas which this entity or object awakens in the mind. Language is therefore compelled to choose.' 1

- (3) Many words whose grammatical form is quite regular are used to denote names of objects, such as *vratati* (creeper), *jāgarūka* (wakeful), *durvi-homī* (one who sacrifices with a ladle), &c.
- (4) We find that many objects get names which are based on subsequent actions, e.g. the wood-pecker.
- (5) If  $prthiv\bar{\imath}$  (earth) is derived from  $\sqrt{prath}$  (to be broad) there is no sophistry at all. It is not necessary to consider as to who made it broad and on what basis, for it is broad to the eye.

Thus the question is discussed in the *Nirukta*. The same question is discussed at length in the *Cratylus* also, wherein Plato propounds three theories and makes the three characters in the dialogue their exponents. Hermogenes holds that names are conventional, arbitrarily given, and altered at will. Its antithesis is represented by Cratylus who maintains that they are natural. Socrates takes an intermediate position and admits that names are natural and at the same time have an element of convention as well.<sup>2</sup>

#### i. Early anti-Vedic Scepticism.

In the fifteenth section of the first chapter of the Nirukta, a critic is introduced in the person of Kautsa, who not only questions the authority of the Vedas, but actually maintains that the Vedic stanzas are meaningless, adducing several arguments in support of his assertion. From the twentieth section of the same chapter it is evident that Yāska believes the Vedic hymns to be revealed, having been handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition, and requiring to be studied with great care; the purpose of his own work being to facilitate this study. As the



Semantics, ch. xviii, Eng. trans. by Cust,
 Cf. Jowett, Dialogues of Plato (3rd ed.), vol. i,
 pp. 171, 172.
 pp. 827-8, 858, 366, 878.

Nirukta is one of the six auxiliary treatises of the Veda, it is rather difficult to say with what object Yaska presented and tried to controvert the view of his opponents, for it is inconceivable that the learned theologians would reproduce, in their orthodox books, a controversy which challenges the most fundamental beliefs of their religion. The reproduction of the Kautsa controversy indicates on the one hand, that not only Yaska was endowed with a rationalistic spirit, and was free from bigoted fanaticism, but also that it was possible to carry on such discussions with tolerance at that period of remote antiquity; and implies on the other, that Kautsa was an eminent scholar, or some great personality, or the exponent of some philosophic system, whose thought could not be ignored. Some, however, think that Yaska has invented Kautsa as a convenient method of giving expression to Vedic Scepticism. This view is conjectural, and is not supported by any evidence. Yaska uses the terms eke, and ekam, aparam, &c. when he wants to refer to something in general, and he could have very well employed the same terms with regard to the above-mentioned controversy, had it not been associated with a particular individual, i.e. Kautsa. There is no ground to doubt the historical existence of the authorities whose opinions are quoted, or referred to, or to whom particular statements are attributed, by Yāska. And unless the contrary can be proved, it may be assumed that Kautsa was an historical entity. It may also be taken for granted that he was the leader of a movement, which may be described as something akin to materialistic rationalism, and which was the result of a remarkable literary activity, a characteristic of the epoch of Yaska, as pointed out elsewhere. But Kautsa was by no means the originator of such a movement, the beginning of which can be traced to an earlier period. Its origin is probably to be sought in sectarianism. For a considerable time, the Atharva-veda was not recognized as divine revelation. For the followers of the Atharva-veda, it was therefore necessary to demonstrate the superiority of their own Veda to the RV., the SV., and the VS. Perhaps the most effective means, employed for the achievement of this object, was to invent legends and allegorical stories, in which all the four Vedas are introduced, and in which a certain task is proposed for them. The RV., the SV., and the VS. are invariably shown to be incompetent in its performance, and it is given up as too difficult by the three Vedas in succession, being finally accomplished by the AV., whose superiority over the other three Vedas is thus implicitly expressed. I quote the following two stories from the Gopatha Brahmana in support of my statement:

तान्वागभुवाच । त्रश्चः ग्रम्येतेति । तथेति । तमृत्वेद एखोवाचाइमश्चं ग्रमेयमिति ।

तसा चिवस्ताय महत्रयं सक्षे । स एतां प्राचीं दिशं भेने । स होवाचाशानो न्वयमस इति । तं यनुर्वेद एत्वोवाचाहमसं श्रमेयमिति । तसा चिवस्ताय महत्रयं सक्षे । सा एतां प्रतीचीं दिशं भेने । स होवाचाशानो न्वयमस इति । तं सामवेद एत्वोवाचाहमसं श्रमेयमिति । केन नु लं श्रमिष्यसीति । रचनारं नाम मे सामाघोरं चाकूरं च तेनासमिष्ट्रयते । तसा चय विस्ताय तदेव महत्रयं सक्षे । स एतामुदीचीं दिशं भेने । स होवाचाशानो न्वयमस इति ।

'Speech said to them, "tame the horse". "Be it so", replied they. Having approached him, the RV. said, "I shall tame the horse". When he set about (accomplishing it), a great terror seized him. He turned her in the eastern direction. He declared, "this horse is wild indeed". The VS. approached him and said, "I shall tame the horse". When he set about (accomplishing it), a great terror seized him. He turned her in the western direction. He declared, "this horse is wild indeed". The SV. approached him and said, "I shall tame the horse". "How indeed wilt thou tame the horse?" "Rathantaram is the name of my song of praise which is neither terrific, nor harsh. With that the horse is praised". But when he set about (accomplishing it), the same great terror seized him. He turned her in the northern direction. He declared, "the horse is indeed still wild"." 1

After these futile attempts, they are advised to seek  $\bar{A}tharvana$  the tamer. They approach him and request him to tame the horse. He prepares the water of tranquillity, which he sprinkles over the horse. From every limb of the horse flames fall down on the ground, and the horse, perfectly tame, salutes the sage.

The object of the following story is to show the incompetency of the three Vedas to afford protection:

ते देवा रद्भमनुवन् । र्मञ्चसाववा गोपाय . . . स वै नसीन रूपेण गोपाय येन नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छादयसि येन ग्रन्थसि गोप्तमिति । स स्वर्गवेदो भूला पुरसात्परीत्वो-पातिष्ठत् । तं देवा सनुवन् । सन्यत्तद्भपं कुरुष्व नैतेन नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छादयसि नैतेन ग्रन्थसि गोप्तमिति । स यनुवैदो भूला पद्मात्परीत्वोपातिष्ठत् । तं देवा सनुवन् । सन्यत्तद्भपं कुरुष्व । नैतेन नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छादयसि नैतेन ग्रन्थसि गोप्तमिति । स सामवेदो भूला उत्तरः परीत्वोपातिष्ठत् । तं देवा सनुवन् । सन्यत्तद्भपं कुरुष्व । नैतेन नो रूपेण भूयिष्ठं छादयसि नैतेन ग्रन्थसि गोप्तमिति ।

'The gods said to Indra, "Do now protect this sacrifice of ours. Verily protect us with that form of thine, with which thou affordest us the greatest shelter, with which thou canst best protect us'. He assumed the

<sup>1</sup> GB. i. 2. 18; Bib. Ind. ed., p. 35.

form of the RV., and having approached, stood before them. The gods said to him, "assume some other form; with this form thou canst not afford us the greatest shelter, with this form thou canst not best protect us". He assumed the form of the VS., and having approached stood behind them. The gods said to him, "assume some other form; with this form thou canst not afford us the greatest shelter, with this form thou canst not best protect us". He assumed the form of the SV., and, having approached stood to their north. The gods said to him, "assume some other form; with this form thou canst not afford us the greatest shelter, with this form thou canst not best protect us".'1

Indra then assumes the form of the *Brahma-veda*, i. e. the *Atharva-veda*, which is approved by the gods as competent to give them the greatest protection.

It need hardly be said that the efforts of the followers of the Atharvaveda were crowned with success, for, in course of time, the AV. was recognized as one of the revealed scriptures. But their method of discrediting the other Vedas gave rise to a movement of inquiry and scepticism—a movement, the traces of which can still be discovered in isolated passages of the Aranyakas and the Upanisads. Besides the fact that the anti-Vedic ideas have been preserved in the Āranyakas and the Upanisads, which, according to the orthodox tradition, are a part of the scriptures, indicates that the movement must have been important and wide-spread, so much so that even some of the Vedic Scholars came under its influence, and freely gave expression to their heterodox views, some of which have survived. I quote the following passages in support of the foregoing conclusion:

# एतड स वै तिद्वांस साक्रमीयः काववेयाः किमर्था वयमध्येषामहे किमर्था वयं यस्थामहे। वाचि हि प्रार्शे जुड़मः प्रांते वा वाचं यो ह्येव प्रमवः स एवापयः।

'Verily it was so, then the Kāvaṣeyas, the learned seers, said, "to what purpose shall we study the Vedas, to what purpose shall we sacrifice? We sacrifice breath in speech, and speech in breath; whosoever is born is indeed the authoritative person."'2

## चक्चमुक्चमिति वै प्रचा वद्नि तद्दिमेवोक्चमियमेव पृचिवीतो हीदं सर्वमुत्तिष्ठति यदिदं किच्च।

'People say, "Hymn, Hymn". This earth indeed, is the hymn, for all, whatever exists springs from it.'3

The study of the Vedas is regarded as avidyā (non-knowledge) in MU.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> GB. i. 2. 19; Bib. Ind. ed., p. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A. A. iii. 2. 6; Keith's ed., p. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A. A. ii. 1. 2; Keith's ed., p. 101.

I. 1. 4-5; as lower knowledge in MU. III. 2. 3; KU. I. 2. 23. The full force of this condemnation will be realized, if it is borne in mind that the Upanisads are also regarded as revealed books (śruti). The case would be analogous if, for instance, St. Paul had declared in one of his epistles that the study of the Bible is non-knowledge, or lower knowledge. The following are the other anti-Vedic passages: Brh. U., I. 5. 23; Kau. U., II. 5; Ch. U., V. 11-24; TU., II. 5; Vivekacūdāmaņi 2; the Jain Uttarā-dhyāyana sūtras, IV. 12; XIV. 12; Gītā, II, 42, 45; IX. 21: XI. 48, 53. In order to reconcile them with the pro-Vedic doctrines, the commentators have offered ingenious explanations of these passages.

It is possible that the Buddha came under the influence of this anti-Vedic movement at an early period, which may be responsible for his vehement denunciation not only of Vedic rites and practices, injunctions, and invocations, &c., but of Vedic lore. He held them up to ridicule, and discarded them as an obstacle to final emancipation. His views about Vedic knowledge have been preserved in the form of a dialogue in the Tevijja sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya. Two Brāhmaṇās, Vāsettha and Bhāradvāja quarrel as to which is the true path. Unable to settle their dispute, they go to the Buddha for a decision. The Buddha holds a conversation with them, and after perplexing and confounding them with analogies and arguments in a Socratic manner, gradually leads them to his own way of thinking, and finally converts them to Buddhism. The important parts of the dialogue with regard to the Vedas are the following:

13. 'Well then, Vāsettha, those ancient Rṣis of the Brāhmaṇās versed in the three Vedas, the authors of the verses... to wit,... Vāmadeva, Vessāmitta, Jamadaggi, Āṅgirasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāsettha, Kassapa, and Bhagu—did even they speak thus, saying: "We know it, we have seen it, where Brahmā is, whence Brahmā is, whither Brahmā is?"

"Not so, Gautama!"

- 15. . . . "Just, Vāsettha, as when a string of blind men are clinging to one another, neither can the foremost see, nor can the middle one see, nor can the hindmost see—just even so, methinks, Vāsettha, is the talk of the Brāhmaṇās versed in the three Vedas but blind talk . . . the talk . . . of the Brāhmaṇās versed in the three Vedas turns out to be ridiculous, mere words, a vain and empty thing."
- 24. "Again, Vāsettha, if this river Aciravati were full of water even to the brim, and overflowing, and a man with business on the other side, bound for the other side, should come up, and want to cross over, and he, standing on this bank, should invoke the farther bank, and say, 'Come hither, O Farther Bank! Come over to this side!'"

"Now what think you, Vasettha? Would the farther bank of the

river Aciravati, by reason of that man's invoking and praying and hoping and praising, come over to this side?"

"Certainly not, Gautama!"

25. "In just the same way, Vāsettha, do the Brāhmaṇās versed in the three Vedas . . . say thus: 'Indra we call upon, Soma we call upon, Varuṇa we call upon, Īsāna we call upon, Pajāpati we call upon, Brahmā we call upon . . .' Verily, Vāsettha, . . that they, by reason of their invoking and praying and hoping and praising, should after death . . . become united with Brahmā—verily such a condition of things can in no wise be."

35. "... Therefore is it that the threefold wisdom of the Brāhmaṇās, wise in their three Vedas, is called a waterless desert, their threefold wisdom is called a pathless jungle, their threefold wisdom is called perdition." '1

In criticism of this, it may be remarked that the views of the Buddha concerning Vedic prayer are erroneous. His arguments, and especially his analogy of the bank of the Aciravati, are applicable to any other prayer as well, and thus prayer itself will become an absurdity. Not only is prayer a very important act of worship in every religion, but in the form of the wheel of prayer is the most distinguishing characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism. Moreover, prayer is a psychical phenomenon, it exerts a powerful influence on the mind through the medium of subconscious suggestion, and as such its efficacy is beyond doubt. Further, the analogy of the Buddha is fallacious. To compare not only sentient but omniscient and omnipotent God with an inanimate piece of matter like the bank of a river, and then to deduce a conclusion from this comparison that because the latter does not respond to prayer hence the former also does not do so, is altogether unjustifiable. Nevertheless the Buddha's denunciation of the Vedas developed a strong contempt for them in his followers who often trampled them under foot.2 It is also probable that these teachings of the Buddha inspired other non-Vedic schools as well. The criticisms of some of these schools are equally vehement, and one seems to hear the reverberated echo of the voice of the Buddha even in some of their expressions. The following passage gives the views of the Carvaka system:

इति चेत् तद्पि न प्रमासकोटि प्रवेष्टुमीष्टे । जन्तव्याचातपुनच्छदोषैर्दूषिततया वैदिकमन्वैरेव धूर्तवकैः परस्परं कर्मकाण्डप्रामास्ववादिमि ज्ञानकाण्डस्य ज्ञानकाण्डप्रामास्ववादिमिः कर्मकाण्डस्य च प्रतिचिप्तत्वेन चस्वा धूर्तप्रकापमाचलेनापिहोचादेर्जीवि-कामाचप्रयोजनलात्। तथा चाह मासकः।

<sup>2</sup> See Sankaradigvijaya, the episode of Kumārila Bhatta's life in a Buddhist monastery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Dialogues of the Buddha, translated into English by Rhys-Davids, S.B.B., vol. ii, pp. 304-14: cf. also S.B.E., vol. xi, pp. 159-208.

चित्रि चयेविदास्विद्षंड भक्षगुष्डनम्। वृद्धिपौद्षद्दीनानां जीविकेति वृहस्पतिः॥ पमुचैत्रिहितः खर्गे व्योतिष्टोमे गमिष्यति। खपिता यजमानेन तत्र कस्मात्र हिंस्तते॥

# चयो वेदस्य कर्तारो मण्डधूर्तनिशाचराः। वर्षरीतुर्फरीत्वादि पण्डितानां वचः सृतम्॥

'If you object..." how should men of experienced wisdom engage in the Agnihotra and other sacrifices",... your objection cannot be accepted as any proof to the contrary, since the Agnihotra, &c. are only useful as means of livelihood, for the Veda is tainted by the three faults of untruth, self-contradiction, and tautology; then again the impostors who call themselves Vedic Pandits are mutually destructive, as the authority of the Jñānakāṇḍa is overthrown by those who maintain that of the Karma-kāṇḍa, and vice versā; and lastly, the three Vedas themselves are only the incoherent rhapsodies of knaves, and to this effect runs the popular saying: Bṛihaspati says that the (performance of) Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the three staves, and smearing oneself with ashes, are but means of livelihood for those who have neither sense, nor manliness.'

'If a beast, slain in the jyotistoma sacrifice goes to heaven, why then, does not the sacrificer kill his own father?'2

'The three authors of the Veda were buffoons, knaves, and spirits of darkness. *Jarpharī*, *turpharī*, &c., these are the well-known rhapsodies of the Pandits.' <sup>3</sup>

The  $\bar{A}rhata$  system has the following criticism with regard to the Vedas:

## चनादेराममसार्थी न च सर्वच चादिमान्। क्रचिमेख त्यस्थिन स क्षयं प्रतिपादति॥

'And a non-eternal omniscient being cannot be the subject of an eternal Veda; then how can he be expounded by a spurious and a false Veda?'

Cf. also: 'There was neither the Sāma-veda, nor the Yajur-veda, nor the Rg-veda, nor was any work done by man.' 5

The earlier anti-Vedic scepticism, together with the doctrines of the Buddhist, the Cārvāka, and the Ārhata systems must have created, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sarva-darkana-samgrahah, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 3. For this passage I have adopted Cowell's translation with some modifications.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mahābhārata Vanaparvan, 11284.

course of time, a considerable amount of opposition to the teachings of the Vedas. It was therefore necessary for the followers of the Vedas to answer the objections of their opponents and to re-establish their position. Hence Jaimini was compelled to devote almost the whole of the first adhyāya of the Pūrva-Mīmāmsā to the examination and refutation of such objections. The substance of Kautsa's criticism, together with the subject-matter of Yāska's rejoinder is amplified with numerous additions in the first chapter of the PM. The controversy, however, is too long to be quoted here. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on the PM. was another expounder of Vedic doctrines, and after him the task devolved on the great Śańkarācārya, who by his eloquence, vast learning, profound philosophy, and great powers of debate rebuilt the shattered supremacy of the Vedic religion, and extirpated Buddhism 1 and other non-Vedic systems from the land of their birth. But adverse critics of the Veda, even after the great Sankarācārya, have not been altogether unknown in India. For instance, Nānaka, the founder of the Sikh religion, may be mentioned as a notable teacher who laid great emphasis on saintliness, and discarded the Vedas as mere mythical records. He said:

> Santa kī mahimā veda na jāņe Cāron veda kahāni.

'The greatness of a saint is not known to the Veda; all the four Vedas are merely (books of) stories.'

Hence we find that Sāyanācārya again reverts to the same discussion in the introduction of his commentary on the Rg-veda. The number of arguments for and against is still further increased. A brief summary of the controversy is subjoined:

#### Criticism.

- 'The prima facie view is that there is no such thing as the Veda; how can there be a part of it, as the Rg-veda? . . . . It is not possible to admit the existence of the Veda, for it is not capable of definition or proof.' 2
- (1) If the Veda is defined as being the last of three kinds of proofs, perception, inference, and evidence, the definition will be too wide, for it will include the Smrtis as well.
- (2) If the Veda is defined as an instrument of apprehending transcendental things, the definition will again suffer from the same defect.
- <sup>1</sup> However, the final blow was dealt by the Mohammedan invaders, who destroyed the Buddhist monasteries in the Northern part of India.
  - 2 See Max Müller's edition of the RV. with

the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, vol. i, pp. 2-3. The Sanskrit text of the introductory part of Sāyaṇa's commentary, together with an English translation, is given by Peterson in his Handbook to the Study of the Rayeda, Part I.

- (3) The qualifying expression, 'being not the product of human authors', will not improve the definition, for the Vedas are the works of human authors, though they may be super-men.
- (4) If you say that by 'human authors' you mean 'men having a corporeal frame', we will draw your attention to the puruṣa-sūkta.
- (5) If you say that by 'corporeal frame' you mean 'a body which is the result of the actions of a previous life', we will point out that Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, the authors of the Vedas, were endowed with bodies which were the result of actions of a previous life.
- (6) If the Veda is defined as a collection of words (śabda-rāśiḥ) consisting of the mantra and the Brāhmaṇa, it does not hold good, for up till now it has not been settled what is mantra, and what is Brāhmana.
- (7) Nor is there any proof of the existence of the Veda. The scriptural quotations in support of your contention are useless, as they are cited from the Vedas themselves, and nothing can be proved by its own evidence. No man, however clever, can mount his own shoulders.
- (8) If you say that the consensus of public opinion is in favour of the Vedas, we will reply that the whole world can be deluded; for instance, the people believe in a blue sky, yet there is no such thing as sky, nor has its blue colour any reality.

### Sāyaņa's rejoinder.

- (1) The definition of the Veda as a collection of words, consisting of the mantra and the Brāhmaṇa is faultless; therefore Āpastamba has said, 'The Veda is the name given to the mantra and the Brāhmaṇa.'
- (2) It is true that things like a jar, or a piece of cloth, &c., are not self-luminous, but it does not follow from this that the sun, and the stars, &c., too have no such character. Granting that it is impossible for a man to mount his own shoulders, nevertheless, the Vedas have the power to illuminate themselves as well as other things.
- (3) You have to recognize the various kinds of proofs, including evidence. And the evidence of the Smrtis, and of tradition cannot but be admitted as proof of the existence of the Veda. Hence, the Vedas cannot be overthrown by any of the infidels like the followers of Cārvāka.

#### Further criticism.

- (1) Admitting that there exists a thing called the Veda, it is not worth a commentary, for the Veda is of no authority (na hi Vedah pramāṇam).
- (2) Some define authority as 'an instrument of sound experience', others as 'a means of acquiring knowledge, not known before'. Neither of these is to be found in the Veda.



Then follows an amplified statement of Kautsa's criticism. Sāyaṇa's reply gives the substance of Yāska's rejoinder with additions and modifications, to which is added a long quotation from the first chapter of the pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, reference to which has already been made.

It would be superfluous to collect the pro-Vedic passages. The Vedas are the foundation of the whole of Sanskrit literature. But the triumph of the Vedic school is apparent from this fact alone that all the anti-Vedic systems have either perished, or been driven into exile, or been reduced to insignificance. Thus the pre-Buddhistic anti-Vedic scepticism can now be traced in a few isolated passages only. Buddhism, once the state religion of the Mauryan Empire at its zenith under Aśoka,—the then greatest Empire in the world—has been banished from its native land. The Cārvāka and the Ārhata systems have been reduced to insignificance. Their followers are few and far between, and their influence on Indian thought and religion is so small that for all practical purposes it can be safely ignored.

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